

Cultural Perceptions *of* Violence *in the* Hellenistic World

Edited by
Michael Champion *and* Lara O'Sullivan

ROUTLEDGE

Cultural Perceptions of Violence in the Hellenistic World

Violence had long been central to the experience of Hellenistic Greek cities and to their civic discourses. This volume asks how these discourses were shaped and how they functioned within the particular cultural constructs of the Hellenistic world. It was a period in which warfare became more professionalised, and wars increasingly ubiquitous. The period also saw major changes in political structures that led to political and cultural experimentation and transformation in which the political and cultural heritage of the classical city-state encountered the new political principles and cosmopolitan cultures of Hellenism. Finally, and in a similar way, it saw expanded opportunities for cultural transfer in cities through (re)constructions of urban space. Violence thus entered the city through external military and political shocks, as well as within emerging social hierarchies and civic institutions. Such factors also inflected economic activity, religious practices and rituals, and the artistic, literary and philosophical life of the polis.

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Preface

Violence was a pervasive feature of the ancient, as of the modern, world. The continuing terror of violence today may be one reason for the perennial fascination in ancient history scholarship with the forms, mechanisms, and effects of violence in Greece and Rome. More darkly, classical scholarship has often glorified the ancient world precisely for its violence, as classical narratives of war, military expansion, and empire have supported modern imperial projects. This book draws attention to cultural discourses generated by, sustaining, and contesting violence in the Hellenistic world. It includes attention to military violence, but also explores violence in structures of civic space, time, and ideology, in economic systems, and across philosophy, drama, religion, poetry, and sculpture. Its focus is mainly on the Greek world, but it ventures across different locations, genres, and times, drawing on Greek and Latin sources. In placing discourses and representations of violence at the heart of the analysis, the volume aims to explore key elements of Hellenistic culture, and reveal cultural mechanisms for creating, sustaining, resisting, and mitigating violence in the period. The Hellenistic world saw violence unfolding against the backdrop of significant social, political, ethnic, economic, and religious changes in the wake of the break-up of Alexander the Great's empire and the transition from Classical city-states to Hellenistic kingdoms. Studying discourses of violence in this period, then, may assist understanding of violence in moments of major geo-political transformation.

This book began with funding from a University of Western Australia – University of Queensland Bilateral Research Support grant, undertaken by Luca Asmonti, Michael Champion, and Lara O'Sullivan. We would like to thank both Universities for this support, and acknowledge with gratitude the friendship and scholarly assistance of colleagues. Over the course of the project, Michael moved to the Australian Catholic University, and he would like to acknowledge the collegiality and stimulation of members of the Institute for Religion and Critical Inquiry.

Luca Asmonti played an important role in the early stages of this project, and we regret that circumstances precluded him from editing this volume with us. He joined us in arranging a panel session on the Siege of Rhodes at the 2014 Australian Historical Association conference in Brisbane (two papers of which were published in the *Ancient History Bulletin*, 2014). He also helped think

through how to plan a volume like this, and helped identify potential contributors and some literature drawn on in Chapter 1. We are very grateful for his expertise, thoughtful conversations, and help as the project took shape.

The chapters in this collection were all commissioned for this volume, with the aim of covering a wide range of cultural phenomena related to violence in the period. A collection on this topic cannot hope to be exhaustive, and we are acutely aware of areas which we have omitted or which deserve greater focus. We hope, however, that our volume provides a useful foundation for further research. We thank the reviewers for the Press for their suggestions, which improved individual contributions and the overall shape of the volume, and Michael Greenwood, Routledge's Classical Studies editor, for his work guiding this project to completion. Finally, we thank all the contributors for their dedication to the project, and patience as the volume came together. We have learnt much from their investigations and are indebted to their scholarship.

Melbourne and Perth, July 2016

Abbreviations

Journal titles are abbreviated in accordance with *L'Année Philologique* http://www.annee-philologique.com/.

Ancient texts and standard reference works are abbreviated in accordance with the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2012, edited by Simon Hornblower, Antony Spawforth and Esther Eidinow. 4th edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

The following additional abbreviations are used:

Agora 16	Woodhead, A. Geoffrey. 1997. *The Athenian Agora, vol. 16. Inscriptions: The Decrees*. Princeton, NJ: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
Athens NAM	National Archaeological Museum of Athens
Boston MFA	Boston Museum of Fine Arts (http://www.mfa.org).
DTA	Wünsch, Richard, ed. 1897. *Inscriptiones Graecae vol. 3, pt. 3. Appendix: Defixionum Tabellae*. Berlin: G. Reimer.
E-K	Edelstein, Ludwig and Kidd, Ian Gray, eds. 1989–1999. *Posidonius. Vol. 1: The Fragments, 2nd ed. Vol. 2: The Commentary. Vol. 3: The Translation of the Fragments.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
GHI	Meiggs, Russell and Lewis, David 1969 (2004). *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century BC.* Revised Edition. Oxford: Clarendon.
Erythrai	McCabe, Donald F. 1986. *Erythrai Inscriptions. Texts and List*. The Princeton Project on the Inscriptions of Anatolia. Princeton NJ: The Institute for Advanced Study.
IGR	Cagnat, René. 1906–1927 (1975). *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*. Paris: E. Leroux (reprint Chicago: Ares).
I.Knidos	Blümel, Wolfgang. 1992. *Die Inschriften von Knidos I.* (Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 41). Bonn: R. Habelt.
I.Lindos	Blinkenberg, Christian, ed. 1941. *Lindos. Fouilles et recherches, 1902–1914. Vol. 2: Inscriptions.* Berlin: de Gruyter.

I.Milet	Wiegand, Theodor, Kawerau, Georg, Rehm, Albert and Herrmann, Peter, eds. 1889–1997. *Milet: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1899*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
IOSPE 1^2	Latyshev, Vasilij, ed. 1916 (1965). *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini graecae et latinae. Vol. 1, 2nd ed. = Inscriptiones Tyriae, Olbiae, Chersonesi Tauricae*. Sankt-Petersburg: Imperatorskoye Russkoye Archeologicheskoye Oshchestvo (reprint Hildesheim: Olms).
IPArk	Thür, Gerhard and Taeuber, Hans. 1994. *Prozessrechtliche Inschriften der griechischen Poleis: Arkadien*. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
I.Priene	Hiller von Gaertringen, Friedrich. 1906. *Inschriften von Priene*. Berlin: G. Reimer.
ISE	Moretti, Luigi. 1967–1976. *Inscrizioni storiche ellenistiche: testo critico, traduzione e commento*. Florence: La Nuova Italia Editrice.
I.Stratonikeia 1	Sahin, M. Çetin, ed. 1981. *Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia 1: Panamara*. Bonn: R. Habelt.
I.Tomis	Stoian, Iorgu. 1987. *Inscriptiones Daciae et Scythiae Minoris antiquae. Series altera: Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris graecae et latinae. Vol. 2. Tomis et territorium*. Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste Romania.
Naples MAN	Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli (http://www.museoarcheologiconapoli.it/it/)
RO	Rhodes, Peter J. and Osborne, Robin. 2003. *Greek Historical Inscriptions 404–323 BC*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
SGD	Jordan, David R. 1985. 'A Survey of Greek Defixiones not included in the Special Corpora', *GRBS* 26: 151–97.
SOD	Fortenbaugh, William W. and Schütrumpf, Eckart, eds. 2000. *Demetrius of Phalerum: Text, Translation and Discussion.* Rutgers University Studies in Classical Humanities 9. (Sources, texts and translations by Peter Stork, Jan Max van Ophuijsen and Tiziano Dorandi). New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers.

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1 ‘War is the father and king of all’

Discourses, experiences, and theories of Hellenistic violence

Michael Champion and Lara O’Sullivan

Violence has an irreducibly Janus-like character, inscribing antagonistic contradiction at the heart of social life. Janus, famously, looks both ways and stands guard over the gates of war, looking forward and backwards, holding past and future together, or, perhaps, pointing to the instability of time, especially under the sign of violence. The gates of war close and break time’s continuity. Janus-like violence can be figured as destructive or creative, it can fragment or unify, it creates and erases boundaries, produces and arises from powerful emotion and obliterates the capacity for feeling, it is coldly rational or passionately burning. The oppositional pairs can be multiplied, and point to the way violence ‘makes and unmakes’ the world, bodies, subjects, cultures, and social formations.[1] The suspicion arises that the tendency to think of violence in such contrastive pairs is itself a feature of the phenomenon, as violence forces interpreters into long-established categories while they simultaneously and often helplessly recognise the ultimate futility of such conceptual schemes in the face of violence.

Perhaps, then, it is Proteus, not Janus, to whom we should refer. In the *Odyssey* (4.410ff), Proteus takes on the forms of everything in the earth, thereby also breaking all terrestrial form and embodiment. He is only given fixed shape, and his civilising prophecy enabled, through an act of violence. If Proteus symbolises fluid identity, violence destroys him, erasing his shifting subjectivity. But if identity is stable, Proteus’ violent instability is rectified through violence, opening up against violent flux the possibility of knowledge and interpersonal communication.[2] We might well see the Proteus episode figuring violence as flux: Proteus’ shapes represent violence and uncontrollable nature – rushing water, blazing fire, tall trees and wild animals, lions, snakes, leopards, boars. Yet as Menelaus wrestles with Proteus, his perception of his foe is mediated through norms of heroic combat, and the consequent production of cultural knowledge is grounded in violent struggle. Proteus, of course, shifts from his Homeric identity to that found in Stesichorus, Aeschylus, Herodotus, and Euripides.[3] Here we find him not as the fluid shape-shifter of the chaotic sea but instead as an Egyptian pharaoh and host of Helen, a representative of culture and order, and an embodiment of the violence that enforces social cohesion, simultaneously threatening as an ethnic potentate associated with Helen, herself a violently contested and destabilising cultural figure.

To reference Janus and Proteus at the head of this collection is to point to the tensions embodied in cultural discourses of violence, the difficulties and potentials involved in creating meaning from the painful and destructive fact of brutal violence, the cultural particularity of representations of violence, and the way perceptions of violence, and associated ecologies of order and cultural knowledge, are themselves bound up in violent systems and processes. This book aims to investigate such tensions in cultural discourses and representations of violence, including but not limited to warfare, in the Hellenistic world (323–31 BCE). Violence had long been central to the experience of Greek cities and to their civic discourses.[4] This volume asks how these discourses were shaped and how they functioned within the particular cultural constructs of the Hellenistic world which were themselves affected by new political structures and institutions, increasingly professionalised warfare, increasing cosmopolitanism, and expanded opportunities for cultural interaction in cities through (re)constructions of civic space.[5] In his magisterial work on Hellenistic warfare, Angelos Chaniotis has observed that 'more wars were fought in [the Hellenistic period] than in any other earlier period. . . The Hellenistic Greeks were continually confronted with the problem of violence'.[6] This violence saw pain and brutality embodied and institutionalised in new ways. As the contributors to this volume argue, it affected all levels of civic life, including economic and political activity and religious practices and rituals, and it left its mark on the cultural production of the period, in art, literature, philosophy and historiography.

The contributors thus probe cultural discourses, performances and institutions to investigate the cultural mechanisms that perpetuated violence, or sought to explain, control or justify it in the Hellenistic period. They engage particularly with the reimagining and reshaping undertaken within the old, established cities as they negotiated the new challenges posed by Hellenistic violence. In the epilogue to the volume, we draw out themes and potential new research questions arising from the individual studies. In this introduction, we frame the following chapters by identifying key features of Hellenistic life which relate to the new experiences of violence. We also position studies of Hellenistic violence, albeit briefly, within wider discussions especially from the domains of narrative and performance theory, and studies of violence and affectivity, mimesis and trauma, hoping to strengthen foundations for more detailed conversations between ancient historians and modern cultural theorists.

Military, political, and cultural shifts which occurred across the Hellenistic age altered the landscape of violence, creating both new spaces for the escalation of violence and new pathways for the deflection of violence. The most obvious form of violence – warfare – was ubiquitous throughout the Hellenistic world, shaping the lives of communities and individuals, and capturing the imagination of writers and artists. The transition from the small city-states of the Classical age to the large kingdoms created by the fragmentation of Alexander's global empire completely changed the spatial and temporal scale of military engagement. Conflicts became more expensive and complex: Hellenistic armies were large and diverse bodies, in which the role of mercenaries was increasingly crucial. Such factors

led to a very high degree of professionalisation and technological sophistication in the exercise of war. No less importantly, they changed the ways the violence of warfare was perceived by actors, victims and bystanders.

The ubiquity of warfare did not necessarily constitute a major break from the Classical experience, but some of its drivers were new. For the common soldier, bearing arms promised recognition and advancement, as in the case of the cleruchs of Ptolemaic Egypt, who received a (taxable) allotment of land for their military services.[7] At the very top of the social and political ladder, the personal imperatives of individual potentates were key. Their armies constituted their primary support base and demonstrated prowess in war served to legitimise the assumption of the royal diadem.[8] The Suda entry on kingship (*basileia*) famously defines that institution in terms of warfare – it is neither nature nor justice which gives monarchies to men, but the ability to command an army and to handle affairs competently – and it is a definition formulated expressly with reference to the kings of the early Hellenistic period, whose claim to power based on victory was so differently formulated from the hereditary rule of Philip II and Alexander III of Macedon.[9] The historical record gives substance to the Suda's definition. The first of the new dynasts after Alexander to adopt the royal title did indeed predicate its adoption on battlefield success, for Antigonus Monophthalmus and his son, Demetrius Poliorcetes, were publicly acclaimed as kings in an elaborate charade that coincided with the announcement of Poliorcetes' naval victory at Cyprus in 306 BCE. Even after the establishment of new hereditary dynasties, military prowess remained important to the perception of royal status. Theocritus' *Encomium* not only lauds Ptolemy II's ancestry but constructs for him a warrior-image:

> All the Pamphylians
> and the warriors of Cilicia he commands, and the Lycians
> and the Carians, who delight in war, and the islands of the
> Cyclades, for his are the finest ships sailing the ocean. All the
> sea and the land and the crashing rivers are subject to Ptolemy,
> and round him gather huge numbers of horsemen and
> huge numbers of shield-bearing soldiers, burdened with glittering
> bronze.
>
> (Theoc. *Id.* 17.88–94, trans. Hunter)

Throughout the age, the territorial rivalries of the new Hellenistic kingdoms ensured the continued prevalence of warfare, as did the intrusion into the Greek world of new and ideologically attractive targets of aggression in the form of the Gauls, who were readily cast by royal propagandists and Greeks alike as the barbarian successors of the Persians. The resulting prevalence of warfare is discernible in contemporary literature, from the plots of New Comedy with their frequent backdrop of war and sieges – the backstory of Menander's *Perikeiromenē*, for example, took place 'when the war and evil times waxed always worse in Corinth' (ll. 124–25)[10] – to the fragmentary remains of the historical traditions. What appear to be the opening lines of one history, composed perhaps towards the close

of the Hellenistic age,[11] are preserved on a statue base of the writer Philippus; Phillipus laments that 'all conceivable calamities and continuous mutual slaughter have occurred in our time throughout Asia and Europe and the peoples of Africa and the cities of islanders' (*FGrH* 95 F1 = *IG* iv 1^2 687). His view is unlikely to have been atypical.

Warfare was not only widespread but also, from the standpoint of the poleis of the Greek world, newly dangerous. Developments in military technology heightened the vulnerability of the polis itself. The Hellenistic age saw the invention of the *helepolis*, and of the publication of treatises on such siege engines; these increasingly elaborate and sophisticated machines challenged the efficacy of traditional urban defences (albeit not always successfully, as Rhodes' survival of Poliorcetes' siege in 304 showed). The Hellenistic age witnessed too the rise of increasingly professionalised mercenary armies, which the city-states could match neither through their citizen-levies nor through their own recruitments of mercenaries. It is true that city-states proved resilient in the face of these changes. Archaeological and epigraphic evidence, including study of fortifications of cities, testifies to administrative efficiency, economic prosperity, diplomatic activity and continuing civic identity.[12] Yet the military imbalance between kingdom and city-state is neatly illustrated in the Lamian War, right at the start of our focus period, when the Greek states formed a coalition and attempted to throw off the Macedonian yoke. While their opposition was restricted to the army that the Macedonian regent, Antipater, was able to assemble from a manpower-depleted Macedon, the Athenian general Leosthenes – at the head of a force substantially bolstered by a secretive programme of mercenary enlistment in the lead-up to war (Diod. Sic. 18.9.1–3) – was able to score successes; Antipater and his men were, indeed, confined in Lamia and faced imminent defeat. Ultimately, however, the resources – military and economic – of the Greek states could not match the resources that Antipater mobilised from the pools of Alexander-veterans in the east, with the arrival of additional land armies (under Leonnatus) and, more crucially still, of naval support under Cleitus (see Brodersen's chapter below for the economic stresses caused by warfare in the period).

Complicating these potential military threats to the polis were major changes in political structures that led to political and cultural experimentation and transformation. The autonomous polis unit faced the challenge of negotiating a place within the expanding and increasingly cosmopolitan sphere of the emerging kingdoms – a world now so big and populous that the Olympian gods themselves could scarcely be expected to keep track of it, as Onesimus is moved to observe in Menander's *Epitrepontes* 1084–1099:

> Do you think, Smicrines, that the gods have so much leisure as to distribute ill and good day by day to each and every person? There are one thousand towns in the world and thirty thousand people in each town.

It faced the challenge too of accommodating into its civic structures kings whose ideologies and discourses were not axiomatically aligned with its own.

Such negotiation of the dynamics between poleis, the new kingdoms, and the new monarchs created potential spaces for conflict and violence, both ideological and armed – a potential that was particularly acute in the poleis of Greece itself, where integration into a larger, monarchical power block was a new experience. In addition, cities newly formed (or newly reinvented as Greek cities) beyond the orbit of the old Greek world faced their own distinct challenges.[13] Internal cohesion and civic structures were tested by the imposts of populations of unprecedented size; poleis like Antioch-on-the-Orontes and Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, not to mention Alexandria, dwarfed their classical counterparts in Athens or Syracuse. With size came also diversity, whether of language, religion or culture. In terms of violence within the orbit of the new Greek city foundations of the east, the assassination by native mercenaries of Philip, the satrap left by Alexander in India (Arr. 6.27.2; Curt. 10.1.20), may be one instance in which ethnic divisions played a part; so too the uprising led by Dionysius Petosarapis in Ptolemaic Egypt in 165 BCE (Diod. Sic. 31.15.a1–4). Dionysius certainly looked to exploit another of the Hellenistic world's potential fracture lines, by insinuating – falsely, in this instance – that there was dynastic discord within the ruling Ptolemaic house.[14] Examples such as these demonstrate that the changing ethnic, linguistic and religious composition of the new Greek cities carried with it the potential for violence, both within the cities themselves and at the interface between the poleis and the rural communities drawn in to support them.[15]

It would be facile to suggest that the shifting political and cultural landscape we have sketched always resulted in violence. Hellenistic societies responded to the challenges in innovative ways.[16] The interactions of a monarch with the poleis of his realm were modulated by the treatises on kingship that emerged from the philosophical schools; their emphasis throughout on the cultivation of 'righteousness (*dikaiosynē*) and generosity (*euergesia*) towards the poleis of the Greek world, and more generally philanthropy (*philanthrōpia*)' hints at a very practical concern for the moderation and regulation of regal behaviour as applied to the polis.[17] A large volume of civic decrees attests to the increasing use of diplomacy, among the cities themselves and through the mediation of kings, for the resolution of potentially violent disputes, in much the way that the archaic and classical polis had channelled some conflict into deliberative forums such as courts. Often cited in this regard is the long-running territorial dispute between Samos and Priene, which prompted arbitration both by a king (Lysimachus, in 283/82 (*OGIS* 13), and by another city (Rhodes in 190 (*I.Priene* 37.125–31 cf. *SEG* 48.1421). Moreover, grants of *asylia* (the recognition of a city or sanctuary as being 'sacred and inviolable') proliferated in the Hellenistic period. While *asylia* status may well have been much more a marker of prestige than a guarantee against violent attack, it is nonetheless significant that cities sought to articulate their prestige in a way that embedded a claim for their own inviolability, and sought to have this status recognised by kings and other poleis.[18]

Some of this deflection of violence we might suspect to be a product of the cultural harmony forged during the Hellenistic period. The identification by writers such as Pausanias (10.4.1) of quintessential features of a polis (such as an

agora, gymnasium, theatre, buildings for civic magistrates) speaks to a recognition across the Hellenistic world of the essential components of Greek civic life, and this physical manifestation of common identity is mirrored by the emergence of koine Greek and (to borrow from Ma) of 'set forms of interaction' between cities that engendered a 'unified community of discourse'.[19] The period witnessed the emergence of federal entities such as the Achaean Confederation, a *koinōn* that Polybius (2.37.9–11) described as making the Peloponnese like a single city, with freedom and equality of each city preserved by the *homonoia* of the whole. Cities more geographically separated could look to other means of establishing links, notably with myth allowing cities to construct ties of kinship (*syngeneia*). Newly Greek poleis were brought into the orbit of the old Greek world with 'Heraclid' and 'Argive' descent becoming a popular commodity in the cultural landscape of the new kingdoms,[20] while the older cities themselves could seek to benefit from this same strategy: Cytenium, in central Greece, would exploit its Dorian identity in an attempt to raise funds for its own rebuilding (after the devastation of earthquakes and wars) from similarly Dorian-identifying populations, some as far afield as Xanthus in Lydia.[21] Such kinship links encouraged the mediation of inter-polis disputes in just the way that kinship ties and shared political identity had earlier rendered increasingly unacceptable the violent resolution of intra-polis conflict.[22]

The extent of Hellenistic *homonoia* should not, however, be overstated. This is apparent in the case of the Achaean Confederation, in which the concord claimed by Polybius (above) did not always translate into unity of action; the Social War of 220–217 BCE saw some of the league's founders assemble their own mercenary armies rather than pay a federal *eisphora* for a common defence against Aetolian raiders.[23] Individual poleis continued to function as autonomous units, and the maintenance of polis identity continued to depend in some measure on militarism. As Ma has demonstrated, individual cities continued to pursue aggressive policies of territorial expansion against their neighbours and to define their civic prestige in terms of warfare; the classical ideal of the active citizen hoplite remained intact.[24] This theme is picked up in Chankowski's contribution to this volume, and extended through a study of the ideology and practice of the institution of the *ephēbeia* and Hellenistic gymnasia. Nor did the spread of Greek cultures give rise to a cultural homogeneity within individual poleis. The cosmopolitan city of Alexandria was remarked upon in antiquity for the diversity of population groups enticed to it by economic incentives and military pressures – it became a 'nurse of all' in which 'every nation has come to settle'.[25] Rather than imposing assimilation, the presiding Ptolemaic dynasty maintained much of this cultural heterogeneity.[26] The fostering of this multi-ethnicity was in some respects highly productive; Selden points to the fact that the Museum, like much of the scholarly and creative activity promoted by the Ptolemies, was 'self-consciously . . . a composite of foreign contributions'.[27] Simultaneously, however, the maintenance of divisions and hierarchies could provide stimuli for violence. Fascinating here is the suggestion that the predilection for depictions of violence against slaves in the *Mimes* of the Alexandrian writer Herodas is in part a product of this highly differentiated society; as Du Bois speculates

> perhaps the distinction between slave and free stands as a displaced sign of all difference, one that includes ethnic difference but that also allows for complex relations of domination, buttressed by threats, physical violence and brutality, necessary in a new cosmopolitan, multiethnic Hellenistic civilisation.[28]

Lape's contribution to this volume resonates with such analyses. She notes in general the tendency in New Comedy to use the capacity for inflicting (or suffering) violence as an index of social status, and suggests that the plots of New Comedy inscribe real social violence while providing cultural resources for the moderation of violence and the formation and maintenance of community. Dickenson similarly points to the way violence creates and sustains social hierarchies, like Lape drawing attention to gendered violence, for example in public punishments and shaming rituals.

Suggestions like these point to the centrality of modes of meaning-making in tracing Hellenistic perceptions of violence. It is a (comforting?) mistake to think that violence itself is mindless, and it remains true that violence generates attempts – destructive and creative – at meaning-making.[29] This draws particular attention to ways in which violence is located, encoded, and expressed in powerful discursive structures.[30] If intelligence is 'symbolic, social, and cultural', then perceptions of violence – the meanings inscribed on violent events and the events and actions that particular individuals and cultures count as violent – will be bound up in the languages, discourses, social interactions, technologies and material objects of the period.[31] The embodied construction of meaning implies that perceptions of violence will be distributed across cultural systems and social networks; individual and interpersonal perceptions of violence will be mutually constructive, both embedded in wider cultural, political, religious and civic systems, institutions, technologies, and practices like those surveyed above. In this volume, authors listen in to various attempts at meaning-making from the Hellenistic world, exploring material objects like art, sculpture, temples, gymnasia and inscriptions, the construction of public space and civic time, and associated literary discourses of poetry, historiography, and philosophy. In these soundings, contributors attempt to reconstruct ways in which violence could be perceived, and sense could be made of it, in the period.

Narratives play a central role in the construction and representation of cultural meaning in general, and are particularly rich sources for the study of ancient violence. Key elements of how people go about narrating experience are essential to how violence works in cultural systems.[32] Firstly, narratives organise events in time, yet as Chaniotis and Kirstein argue in different ways, violence both structures and confuses time, and is perceived in temporally dependent ways. Chaniotis shows how violence committed at night generates cultural scripts of the cowardice or deceit of the attackers, the fear and anxiety of the victims, and the heroism of the resistance. Drawing on the German sociologist Wolfgang Sofsky,[33] Kirstein argues that different forms of violence are perceived as constructing different temporalities, and such attacks on time itself deeply affect narrative accounts and poetics. Second, for all their generic features and common plot structures,

narratives depend on particular embodiment. Yet violence can erase or accentuate differences between people, eliminating or controlling bodies, in ways traced especially by Dickenson, in his treatment of the policing of violence and public punishment and humiliation, and by Lape, in her study of violence between generations, classes and genders. Third, stories also inscribe intentionality and agency, and assume that one can make sense of experience and negotiate meaning (narratives assume interpretability, perspectivalism and intersubjectivity). Certainly, violence can be represented as planned, and as used to create cultural forms. But violence also is commonly perceived in our sources as robbing actors of agency and coherent reasons for action: violence can be constructed as madness, randomness and confusion, for all its potential for conservative structuring or creative transformation, possibilities Anagnostou-Laoutides explores in her chapter on Apollonius' *Argonautica*. Further, violent events are deeply perspectival, as different actors – perpetrator, victim, bystanders – experience violence in different ways, as Dickenson, Lape, O'Sullivan and Kirstein all explore in various civic, religious, familial and interpersonal settings. Fourth, this very perspectivalism may threaten the negotiability of meaning in narratives, and several contributors point to ways in which violence can create or destroy the conditions necessary for pragmatic agreement on cultural values and meaning. Fifth, and in a related way, stories gain much of their coherence and tension from the interplay between normative events and breaches of conventions, and several authors point to ways in which violence leads to social change and innovation by threatening established cultural conventions and practices, although others emphasise ways in which violence is used to reproduce established (and perhaps violent) social order, establishing social cohesion by normalising power differentials. Finally, narratives work together in a process of 'narrative accrual', whereby smaller stories are related to larger ones in an attempt to make experience coherent and invent and maintain traditions. This feature of narrative is especially significant for historians interested in the development of traditions and processes of historical change, and each chapter deals with questions of how Hellenistic narratives build from Classical understandings of violence, seeking to construct continuities that render experience meaningful despite *prima facie* cultural rupture; such questions perhaps gain greatest focus in the domains of religion, civic identity, art and philosophy in the chapters by O'Sullivan, Chankowski, Chaniotis, Hardiman, Anagnostou-Laoutides and Champion. Widening the focus from war to wider cultural processes of violence can put pressure on conventional periodisation, and several chapters look beyond such boundaries to understand violence in a 'long-Hellenistic Age'. One unifying feature of this collection, then, is its attempt to work through how Hellenistic thinkers, artists, historians and citizens sought to make meaning out of the experience of violence in their narratives and related cultural artefacts even as violence put significant tension on such accounts.

For our narratives of the period are dotted with instances of violence arising at the new social, cultural, technological, economic and political intersections of the Hellenistic world. Chapter 24 of Plutarch's *Demetrius*, for example, provides vignettes of the difficulties at Athens, in both private and public spheres, posed by the integration of royal power. Plutarch contrasts two stories: one concerns

a beautiful young man, Democles the Fair, who nobly defends his own virtue against the predatory sexual advances of Demetrius Poliorcetes; the other concerns the less resolute resistance of the demos which, having voted to prohibit Poliorcetes' intervention in Athenian judicial cases, was frightened by the king's anger into revoking its decree. Violence is embedded in both stories. Democles escapes the unwanted attentions of the king by committing suicide, while the demos in its panic puts to death some of those who had sponsored the bill that had incurred the king's wrath.

In these situations, as in many analysed in the following chapters, private and public violence are intertwined. These events in Plutarch's *Demetrius* are framed by a brief account of Demetrius' private debaucheries with prostitutes in the Acropolis, presented (understandably) as an affront to civic devotion to Athena. Democles seeks to avoid violence by shunning public places including the baths and the gymnasium, only to have his private domain breached by Demetrius. Cleaenetus' attempt on behalf of his father to gain Demetrius' judicial support backfires with the public execution of leading citizens. Part of the effect of changing political structures and the increasing power of the kings was a sometimes violent collapse of the autonomy of the inner and outer lives of members of the polis.[34] More broadly, the diverse ways in which violence transgresses boundaries and impinges on the relationships and structures that support civic life are common themes across this volume. As we have noted, several authors analyse ways in which violence alters actors' sense of time, distorting their experience and capacity to control their actions or construct coherent worldviews. In this respect, we may recall Plutarch's account of the Athenians changing the calendar itself in order to accommodate Demetrius' demand to be quickly initiated into the Mysteries (Plut. *Dem*. 26). In this episode, the violent will of the king changed civic temporalities and associated religious commitments. O'Sullivan's contribution similarly points to ways in which religious ritual can reconfigure time in the context of violence; the themes of ritual, religion, and violence are also explored by Anagnostou-Laoutides and Hardiman, with reference to Orphic rites and visual representations of divinities.[35] Other contributors investigate ways in which public and private spheres are mixed up in depictions of emotionally violent imagery, imagery which may also elicit compassion (Hardiman, Lape). Personal wealth could be appropriated to individual rulers and public treasuries alike, as scarcity caused by violence led to increasing economic pressures (Brodersen). Still others find blurring of inner and outer boundaries in the construction of state and masculine identity (Chandowski) or the ways in which individuals and city-states try to maintain communal, religious, familial and friendship structures in the face of external violence (Champion, Lape, O'Sullivan).

The stage, of course, is a prime medium for figuring such blurring of boundaries, and war is so often cast as a form of theatre in our sources that one recent volume speaks of 'war as spectacle', spot-lighting the theatricality and display of armed conflict.[36] To take just one example, Diodorus codes the action of the final battle in the Siege of Rhodes (305/4 BCE) as staged within a theatre.[37] The aged and infirm are the audience

> looking on from their homes, since the city is shaped like a theatre; and all, being terror-stricken at the magnitude of the fleet and the gleam of the shining armour, were cast into great anxiety about the final outcome' (Diod. Sic. 20.83.2).

The Rhodians are actors no less than Demetrius the Besieger, who is elsewhere compared to Dionysus himself (Diod. Sic. 20.92.4), as O'Sullivan explores in detail in her chapter below. Such episodes code war as a display or performance, congruent with the heightened affectivity of Hellenistic sources, ranging from inscriptions and public monuments to historiographical accounts.[38] Dickenson's chapter charts ways in which violence could signify by being performed in specifically public space. For example, political violence performed in the open '*theatron*' of the city could, partly by virtue of its public character, be cast as securing a city's freedom. Such a view of violence is grounded in the human propensity to construct social worlds through performative meaning-making: *homo narrans* is *homo agens*.[39] Any study of cultural narratives of violence, then, will have to pay attention to modes of performance. Chaniotis has highlighted the pervasive theatricality of the Hellenistic period, in 'tragic history', emotive art, civic festivals and rituals, and public oratory and statesmanship.[40] Sport provides another venue for display, often bound up with militarism, as Chankowski explores in his chapter on the ideology of training in Hellenistic gymnasia.[41] Such theatricality is built into rituals of power, such as the *adventus* of Hellenistic kings.[42] Heracleides of Crete could speak of third-century Athens as boasting 'spectacles without interruption'.[43] O'Sullivan's contribution investigates religious display as a means of negotiating potential violence, Hardiman focuses on the art and sculpture of the period, and Dickenson probes the meanings associated with the public performance of violence in policing and punishment as well as public violence to establish kingly power or remove tyrants. His contribution, like those of O'Sullivan, Chankowski and Lape, also points to ways in which performances of 'political and moral [and we might add religious, ethnic, and familial] traditions . . . legitimise and even prescribe their violence' as Natalie Zemon Davis has written in a different context.[44]

On this view, performances on stage and the spectacle of violence are imbricated, as the disruptions, tensions, and flashpoints at the interface of the polis and the new world of the Hellenistic kingdoms are thus refracted, and sometimes resolved, in the dramatic productions of the period. The sheer size of the new Greek *oikoumenē*, the intrusion of outsiders from beyond this greater world into the polis, the affirmation of citizen identity in the face of such challenges: such concerns are intrinsic to New Comedy. The stage is dotted with characters dislocated from their polis and *oikos* through their far-flung travels (whether as mercenaries in the great Hellenistic armies, or as businessmen in pursuit of new opportunities), and whose returns home catalyse the crises that the play must resolve. The fractured relationships put on stage in Menander's *Perikeiromenē*, for instance, are resolved when the central character, Polemon, agrees to relinquish his life as a mercenary soldier; his surrender of this external role signals

not only his reintegration into the life of his polis and *oikos*, but also a change to his emotional state that will moderate his reactions to those around him. (As his friend Pataecus urges: 'Forget your soldiering, nor do a single thing that's headstrong, never more again!' (1016–1017).) Elsewhere the stage citizen finds himself rivalled in love by the swaggering *miles gloriosus*, whose allegiance to the world beyond the polis is insinuated through allusions to his military service in exotic locations for the Hellenistic potentates. Lurking at the peripheries of this comic world is violence, frequently of a sexual nature (themes explored by Hardiman and Lape below), and frequently embedded in the very concerns for civic identity in a globalised world that the plays problematise.[45]

The violence recorded in our sources is intimately connected with civic identity and the construction and maintenance of civilised communities.[46] It is perhaps this aspect of Hellenistic (and modern) violence which is most thoroughly bound up in the Janus-like contradictions with which we began. Modern theorists have seen violence and politics as intimately connected. Clausewitz's famous dictum that war is the 'mere continuation of politics by other means'[47] was extended by Weber's equally well-known definition of the state on the basis of the 'specific means that are peculiar to it . . . namely physical violence'; for Weber, the state is a 'relationship in which people *rule over* other people . . . based on the legitimate use of force (that is to say, force that is perceived as legitimate)'.[48] Others have traced the 'state-forming' role of violence in the Hellenistic world, contrasting the more tightly controlled major centres with poleis at the peripheries, where there was less central control of violence, granting new power to private entrepreneurs, for example in the slave trade.[49] On such views, violence grounds and maintains (to differing degrees in different cities) the social, political and economic institutions, relationships, structures and systems of meaning that are necessary for societies to function.[50] Heraclitus was there first: 'War (*polemos*) is the father and king of all. Some it makes gods, others men; some slaves, and others free' (DK B53). The way violence structures societies continued to be the dominant theme in ancient narrative representations of war. Chaniotis has written of war as 'a social and cultural force' which constructed the political outlook of different layers of Hellenistic society. This analysis is congruent with Arendt's insistence that violence is a cultural force that shapes societies, rather than a natural, necessary power, and is furthered in this volume by Chankowski's study of ideologies of violence shaping civic identity and the political outlook and policy of cities.[51] As Anagnostou-Laoutides argues below, violence can therefore be figured as a creative way of 'dealing with life's dead ends'. Yet others see violence as the end of politics, social order and the possibility of meaning-making, an uncontrollable force that restricts agency and diminishes rational deliberation.[52] Violence, in this mode, is a 'dead end' both for culture and for the interpersonal, free subjectivity that is a precondition for politics.[53] We return to 'Janus-like' violence, captured also in O'Sullivan's analysis of how city-destroying and city-preserving characteristics are held together in divine identities, for example in Ares, god of war and lover of cities, Athena, the guardian of Athens who loves the sack of cities, or Dionysus, preserver and destroyer of cultural form.

Such tensions are tested in several chapters in this volume. Anagnostou-Laoutides explores the passionately destructive and creative violence of Eros as represented in the depiction of Medea in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius of Rhodes. Chaniotis notes that the emotions generated by the violence of the night fit within a range of legal and institutional forms related to nocturnal violence. While political violence in the name of freedom could be justified, precisely to overcome the violence that threatened to render democratic politics impossible, Dickenson points out that violence can reproduce inequality and establish the polis by normalising inequalities of power, thereby reinforcing social cohesion, and Brodersen's analysis of different economic rights and treatment of different social groups extends this point. This was a phenomenon that Epicurus arguably saw in his own society, as he claimed that social inequality, social competition for status, and emotions attendant upon inequality and social competition were prime causes for violence (see Champion's chapter).

In a society ordered around displays of status, social competition was central to civic order. Agonistic competition had always been a key element of Archaic and Classical Greek society, but Hellenistic Greece saw still more elaborate displays of status. In the view of French theorist René Girard, such competition for status lies at the heart of civic violence in processes of 'mimetic rivalry', as people violently strive to gain what others desire.[54] One may justly question the universality of Girard's account of violence (and his particular readings of ancient texts): Chankowski's comments on rivalry in the gymnasia directed towards not military violence or violent hatred of non-citizens but instead towards civic euergetism are worth considering in this context. Yet the theatrical qualities of Hellenistic society may well have amplified mimetic processes of violence, as citizens deliberately cast themselves in particular roles by imitating in performance those whose social status they desired. In this context (as Girard has also studied extensively, especially in relation to scapegoating mechanisms), performances of public humiliation could be a particularly effective form of violence, enforcing civic order, class divisions and gender roles. Dickenson notes humiliation was effective even beyond the grave, as the threat of shaming victims of suicide put an end to a suicide epidemic at Miletus. Powerful emotional strategies could be used to control citizens from the top down. In the other direction, Lape charts how violence can be parsed as a failure to exercise those emotions that are necessary to sustain a functioning community; on this reading, violence should be eradicated but can also be a catalyst for eliciting and clarifying community-preserving actions and affects.

The relationship between violence and affect is a persistent theme across this collection, and is one way in which it connects to trauma studies.[55] Much of what we have been arguing about how violence shapes experience and complicates processes of meaning-making resonates with claims of scholars of critical trauma studies. Gabriele Schwab has defined trauma 'as a mode of being [which] violently halts the flow of time, fractures the self, and punctures memory and language' – all aspects of the cultural perception and representation of violence we have noted. The field of trauma studies as a whole has increasingly focused

on how the concept of 'trauma' 'reveals and unsettles cultural conventions', another point of intersection.[56] Elaine Scarry's insight that the experience of the pain of torture fractures bodies, cultures, and symbolic systems to the extent that it can be described as 'unmaking the world' can carry over to the effects on people and their cultural lives in the context of extreme violence.[57] She simultaneously claims that emerging from pain, attempting to describe it and make personal and interpersonal meaning of it, gives insight into how humans make worlds, sense, symbols, and bodies. These dual claims hold together the two-faced account of violence with which we began. Trauma, understood in Schwab's terms as one effect of violence, controls by first disrupting and unmaking individuals, and then by eliciting affective strategies – positive and negative – that help communities to function.[58]

To conclude, it is worth bringing into focus once more the destructive side of the phenomenology of violence. Violence, or trauma, fundamentally disrupts subjectivity.[59] In the words of Maurice Stevens, traumatic events:

> Mangle bodies *and* senses of embodiment, defy mnemonic structures *and* memory's instantiation in/as history. They shake one's capacity to narrate *and* dissolve narrative itself, tangle temporal framings *and* temporality itself. At the same time these events shock social relations, they *also* electrify sociality, and while they obliterate affective regulation, they reduce affect itself to a charged and glowing potential seeking explosive manifestation and symbolization.

Scarry's 'making and unmaking' of worlds, a tension in the contributions below, is an implicit basis for this analysis. But if this is the effect of violence, the historian is left with a further problem, for our sources record the final, often very successful and influential, cultural products of attempts to make sense of violence. It is not just that we see only images and traces of the bloody mangling of bodies, not just that the voices we hear leave many victims of violence silenced, in forgotten and unresolvable agony, though those problems are real. It is also that the traces recorded in our sources are already removed from violence precisely to the extent that they heal fractures of meaning, rebuild once broken temporalities, and create whole narratives from the shards of violence.[60] Derrida's insistence that 'the concept destroys its name and that, if all begins with the trace, there is above all no originary trace' is a constant challenge to historians, especially those who take narrative seriously as we do, to remember the violence done by representation.[61] Rowan Williams, speaking of Geoffrey Hill's poetry, has drawn attention to Hill's 'massive and unconsoled anger about the terrible ease of language: "Art is impregnable in what it claims, / Consoles itself while children curl in flames. / I could not say what registers the shock"'.[62] 'Words feel nothing', Hill writes, in the same work, and in the face of language's ability to construct meaning against intractable chaos, he urges us to 'turn and be broken even as metre holds'. Listening in to how citizens, writers, thinkers and artists sought to make sense of violence by its representation also means remembering all the violence that could

not be included in the narrative, the places where sense could not be made, where performances claiming to represent violence in fact mask continuing pain, where the world remained broken.[63]

Notes

1 On world making and unmaking, see Scarry (1985).
2 See Lifton (1993: 5) for the image of Proteus in the context of violence and identity; Lifton, however, sees Proteus as the image of the healthy self, a resilient counterpoint to the violence of stability.
3 See Eur. *Hel.* 1–15; Stesichorus *Palinode*; Aesch. *Proteus*; Hdt. 2.112ff. See also discussion in Austin (1994: Chapter 4); Marshall (2014: 55–95); West (1982: 67–10).
4 Raaflaub (2007: 24–5). The most comprehensive and influential study of war in the Hellenistic World is Chaniotis (2005). Studies of war and violence in Ancient Greece have often focused on the Classical and earlier periods. See for example Andò and Cusumano (2010); Bertrand (2005); Campbell and Tritle (2013) (in which for the Hellenistic period, see especially Serrati (2013) and Martin (2013)); Crowley (2012); Fagan and Trundle (2010); Garlan (1975); Hanson (2009); Humble (1980); Sabin *et al*. (2007); van Wees (2000, 2004). Thanks to Luca Asmonti for identifying some important literature.
5 Hellenistic political and cultural experimentation and transformation: see O'Sullivan (2009). For increasing cultural transfer in new civic space: Dickenson and van Nijf (2013). Discourses and practices of war and peace: Raaflaub (2007); Chaniotis (2005). General surveys of the Hellenistic period: Erskine (2003); Shipley (2000); Walbank *et al*. (2008).
6 Chaniotis (2005: 456).
7 See Baker (2003: 378).
8 Austin (1986: 462) for the army as the key support base, alongside the *philoi* of the king. Relevant also is *IPriene* 15.6–7 = *RC* 6.6–7 (from 286/85).
9 Virgilio (2003: 69); see Baker (2003: 375–6). Billows (1990: 155–7) examines Antigonus Monothphalmus' assumption of kingship in the wake of victory.
10 See Dixon (2005) on the historical context.
11 For a date c. 40s BCE for Philippus, see Goukowsky (1995: 39); Chaniotis (1988: 314–17).
12 Baker (2003: 377, 381–4).
13 On tensions associated with a 'multicultural' Mediterranean, see Hanson (2007: 15–16).
14 On Dionysius' revolt, see McGing (1997: 293–5) for the possibility of an 'anti-Greek' aspect; Fischer-Bovet (2014: 100–101).
15 On the subjugation of rural populations to provide for new poleis in Sogdiana, see Bosworth (1988: 247–8).
16 On Hellenistic poleis not being deprived of agency, but inventing new ways of exercising it, through developing a discourse with the royal powers and eventually the Romans: see Martzavou and Papazarkadas (2013: 2).
17 Haake (2013: 176) on the thematic concerns of these treatises, cf. 178ff on the polis as an audience and a locus of concern.
18 Rigsby (1996) remains the fundamental treatment of *asylia*. For articulation of connections (however nominal) between *asylia* and violence, see Thuc. 2.71, 4.97; Polyb 4.73l; Strabo 8.3.33.
19 Ma (2003: 18).
20 Scheer (2003: 226–31) for examples.
21 *SEG* 38.1476. Ma (2003) on civic interactions.
22 Lintott (2014 [1982]: 15) on earlier intra-polis conflict.
23 Champion (2004: 126–7).

24 Ma (2000). On the nexus of hoplites and citizenship in the archaic and classical period, see Raaflaub (1997).
25 *POxy*. 2332 II 61f.
26 Selden (1998: 289–301).
27 Selden (1998: 301).
28 Du Bois (2007: 438).
29 Murdock and Spicer (2012: 278) reflecting on the insights of Zemon Davis (1973). See further the essays in Murdock *et al*. (2012).
30 This is, of course, a crucial concern of several continental theorists, taken up in much historiography after the 'linguistic turn'. See for example Agamben (2009: 105 [Italian original, 1970]): 'Today, organized linguistic violence aimed at manipulating consciousness is such a common experience that any theory of violence must address its expression in language'. For an emphasis on power and violent discourse, see Foucault (1972: 229): 'We must conceive discourse as a violence we do to things'. See also Derrida (1997), and Girard (1978) at note 54 below.
31 Nelson (2009), *passim*, quote at preface, x; Vygotsky (1978); Bruner (1990). For similar methodology in the study of ancient violence, see Richer (2005).
32 Bruner (1991: 1–12) enumerates the narrative elements surveyed in this paragraph.
33 E.g. Sofsky (1997: 102–21).
34 Several theorists of totalitarian violence point to the devastating effect of public violence on private experience and action, arguing that totalitarian violence controls citizens to such an extent that the boundaries between public and private, inner and outer, formal and informal worlds are broken, and the citizens' capacity for agency, intentionality and subjectivity are thereby eroded.
35 Agamben (2009: 107) argues that sacred violence 'breaks apart the continuity of time to found a new era'.
36 Bakogianni and Hope (2015). This excellent collection treats Archaic and Classical Greece and Republican and Imperial Rome alongside medieval and modern receptions but does not include a contribution on the Hellenistic period.
37 For discussion, see Champion (2014: 105–6).
38 See Chaniotis (2013: 339–52). On war as display and affectivity, see Bakogianni and Hope (2015: 8–9).
39 Bakogianni and Hope (2015: 3).
40 Chaniotis (1997: 219–59). See also Pollitt (1986: 4), who claims for Hellenistic Greeks a 'theatrical mentality'.
41 For sport, visual display and wider cultural discourses, see Kyle (2015). For connections between sport, public life, and violence in the classical period, see Pritchard (2013).
42 Chaniotis (1997: 236–7).
43 Heracleides 1,1 (Pfister) quoted in Chaniotis (1997: 250).
44 Zemon Davis (1973: 53).
45 Furley (2014) examines the disjunctions. As one example one might take Menander's *Samia*, in which Demeas, recently returned from the Black Sea and unaware of a love affair back at home between his son and and his friend's daughter, is enraged at what he takes to be an affair between his son and his own *pallakē*, Chrysis. See Lape (2004: 62ff) for the *miles gloriosus*.
46 Zemon Davis (1973: 90) points to the way violence often connects to 'fundamental values and self-definition of a community'.
47 Clausewitz (1918: Vol. 1, Chapter 1, §24).
48 Weber (2004: 33, 34). In this tradition, John Docker has argued that 'Violence constitutes history. It is not abnormal', and, drawing on Lemkin's theorisation of genocide, he argues that it is thoroughly bound up in all levels of human life: physical, biological, institutional, psychological, interpersonal and cultural: see Docker (2008: 2, 63–84).
49 See for example Gabrielsen (2003: 389–90, 403).

50 Arendt (1969) notes that modern war completely obliterates politics by its sheer power and potential for total destruction.
51 Chaniotis (2005: xxi); Arendt (1969).
52 This tension plays out in liberal and conservative politics today: in response to the tragic Dallas police shootings, Charles M. Blow in the *New York Times* (8 July 2016) urges that 'We must all see violence for what it is: A corrosion of culture', yet the National Rifle Association views attempts to regulate gun ownership as a threat to the very Constitution of the United States. Perhaps the Constitution is corrosive.
53 Lifton (1993: 11). Yet theorists such as Agamben (2009: 108) have insisted, in an argument congruent with the historical analyses presented in this volume, that the violence that establishes the dominant order and that which seeks to overthrow it, are both powerful elements of the self-expression, rather than the self-abrogation, of identity.
54 See especially Girard (1977, 1986, 2004). On universal violence, see Girard (1978: 210): 'violence, in every cultural order, is always the true *subject* of every ritual or institutional structure'. Several influential essays appear in Williams (1996), while a useful engagement and exposition of Girard's thought on mimesis is given by Palaver (2013: 133–34). For an amusing and devastating critique of Girardian overreach see Landy (2012).
55 Note, however, that David Konstan has questioned whether Ancient Greeks had the category of 'combat trauma' as a pathology (in a volume otherwise devoted to trauma caused by war in Ancient Greece): see Konstan (2014). We return briefly to this question in the Epilogue below.
56 Schwab (2010: 42); Casper and Wertheimer (2016: 6).
57 Scarry (1985).
58 Cf. Stevens (2016: 35).
59 Stevens (2016: 25).
60 Stevens (2016: 33–5).
61 Derrida (1997: 61). See also the discussion at McKenna (1992: 92–4).
62 Williams (2016). Williams cites from Hill's 'Al tempo de' tremuoti' (Hill, 2013).
63 The authors would like to acknowledge contributions from, and discussions with, Dr Luca Asmonti, which helped to crystallise some points.

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2 Violence, public space, and political power in the Hellenistic polis

Christopher Dickenson

Introduction

Public spaces are, by definition, used and frequented by a wide cross-section of an urban community. In our modern cities men and women, rich and poor, residents and foreigners, young and old, people of different faiths and ideologies, people with different interests and ways of life all rub shoulders as they pass through, or pass time on, our streets and squares. All of these people have a stake in public space and this, as anthropologists and sociologists have recognised, means that public space is profoundly political.[1] It is somewhere that relations of power are reaffirmed, negotiated, and contested. The degree to which different groups have access to public space, the behaviour that is tolerated there, and the level of influence that different groups have over the built environment at once reflect and shape the realities of political power within a given society. Challenges to the existing balance of power can occur both through discussion *about* public space and also through the ways that people act and interact on the ground *within* public space.

Violence too can play an important role in defining power on the public stage. Inhabitants can use violence to settle scores or to bully others to secure influence over them, behaviour that in modern western cities is criminalised, a fact that in itself reflects the subservience of the individual to the power of the state; a police force sanctioned to use (some degree of) violence to uphold the law can maintain order, encourage compliance with accepted codes of behaviour and bolster the position of those in power.[2] In such ways violence plays an implicit role in shaping relations of power but public space can also serve as the arena for more explicit forms of political violence. In many cultures public space serves, as it did until fairly recently in western culture, as the stage upon which criminals and deviants are subjected to violent punishments and executions, such spectacles serving to terrify the rest of the population into conformity. Public space is also the natural arena for protests and riots aimed at directly challenging existing power structures.[3]

This chapter takes its lead from anthropological approaches to public space to explore various ways in which violence shaped relations of power in the public spaces, and above all the agora, of the Hellenistic polis. The first section examines the evidence for measures taken by civic authorities to control the potential

for the polis' inhabitants to engage in violence against one another. Section two considers the extent to which public spaces in Hellenistic cities served as arenas for exacting violent punishments. Section three considers the ways in which political power was overtly contested through violence in public, focusing in particular on the evidence for political murders. Running through these sections as a recurrent thread is the issue of tyranny, a form of government that had enjoyed its first heyday in the Archaic period but which underwent a resurgence in Hellenistic times as kings – especially the Antigonids and especially in the Peloponnese – supported local tyrants to extend their sphere of influence. Violence, predictably, played a not infrequent role in establishing, maintaining, and contesting tyrannical rule. While tyrannical regimes are, of course, only one of the many forms of government known for the Hellenistic polis, ancient discussions of violence both of and against tyrants have much wider implications for thinking about the role of violence in determining the balance of power in the Hellenistic polis.

The policing of violence

If the literary record for the Hellenistic period contained courtroom speeches such as those by Demosthenes and Aeschines then we would probably find that it was fairly common for quarrels and petty disputes between citizens to escalate to physical fighting, as happened when Ariston and his friend Phanostratus were beaten up by a gang of enemies during a stroll in the Athenian agora one evening in the fourth century.[4] Casual violence by citizens against disenfranchised groups was probably even more frequent. Plutarch's not disapproving reference to Alcibiades dragging his wife through the Athenian Agora is probably representative of male attitudes throughout our period.[5] We will return to the issue of subjugating women through violence below when we consider the issue of public shaming ceremonies. Herodas' Fifth Mime is a revealing vignette regarding violence toward slaves. Centred on the violence of a frustrated mistress toward her slave lover, the comedy of the story seems to derive from the excessive emotion of the woman rather than the slave's punishment – being tightly bound and beaten. The very fact that such punishment could serve as the background for humour, however, suggests a tacit acceptance of casual violence toward slaves in Hellenistic culture. Frustratingly we cannot know how frequently slaves were struck in public.[6] Such passages remind us that the fundamental inequalities in power at the heart of polis society were partly enforced through the implicit threat of violence. By the same token the relative absence of violence in interactions between citizens is an important issue to account for in examining the workings of power in the Hellenistic polis.

The lack of a public police force through which the polis could 'monopolise the legitimate use of violence', to use Weber's phrase, has been a key issue in debates about whether the Classical polis can be thought of as a state.[7] Without trying to resolve that debate here, or to shift its focus to the Hellenistic world, it is important to recognise that there was at least an expectation in the Greek city that citizens would be safe from violence. The ruse of exploiting an apparent breakdown of

public order was cunningly exploited by aspiring tyrants. Peisistratus' first step to tyranny in Archaic Athens was securing a public bodyguard after wounding himself and pretending that he had been attacked by enemies.[8] Plutarch provides a very similar account of a failed coup against Dion of Syracuse by a certain Sosis who ran into the agora wounded and claimed he had been set upon by Dion's mercenaries.[9] These stories are predicated on the assumption that the level of violence in society was normally kept under control. Custom must have played a role here but in Hellenistic times there is some evidence for local authorities using violence or the threat of violence as instruments of control and, conversely, restricting possibilities for citizens to carry out acts of violence. The evidence for officially sanctioned use of violence concerns violent punishments, which will be addressed in the next section. First, let us turn to the issue of prohibitions against people carrying weapons in public.

Most of the evidence concerns Classical or pre-Classical times but because the evidence itself is Hellenistic or later it provides useful insights into attitudes in our period. Diodorus Siculus presents a story that he tells us was associated with two Sicilian lawgivers, Charondas of Catana and Diocles of Syracuse, in which the lawgiver banned people from carrying swords in public only to forget the ban himself and to commit suicide on realising his error.[10] The stories are intended to highlight the righteousness of the lawgiver in submitting to his own laws even to the point of laying down his life.[11] Yet for present purposes the tales are suggestive in three respects: firstly, they suggest that carrying weapons in public was at times a serious problem that needed to be dealt with. Secondly, custom was not enough to dissuade men from carrying weapons in public. Laws were needed. Finally, the issue was apparently deemed serious enough that death was felt to be a fitting punishment. A zero-tolerance policy was the only way that this behaviour could be stamped out.

Thucydides tells us that the practice of carrying swords in public had, by his day, long since been abandoned in most Greek poleis, as it had been at Athens.[12] While Thucydides must have been right about his home city there is evidence elsewhere for citizens carrying weapons in the Hellenistic period. First, the dossier of inscriptions from Eresus, to do with the trial of local tyrants on the instruction of Alexander the Great, includes among their other crimes that these tyrants had confiscated the citizens' weapons, presumably in self-defence.[13] Second, Plutarch in his *Life of Aratus* tells us Aristomachus, a tyrant who ruled Argos in the third quarter of the third century BCE and whose family had long enjoyed Macedonian connections, was able to avert a plot against his life by banning the citizens from publicly carrying swords.[14] The implication is that weapons had been tolerated at Argos up to that point. If at Eresus prior to the tyranny men were free to carry weapons, and at Argos even a tyrant had initially tolerated men carrying weapons in public, then the situation was possibly more common than we might otherwise suspect. Classical Athens and the Sicilian cities mentioned by Diodorus may well have been the exceptions rather than the rule.

It is worth noting that none of the prohibitions attested, except presumably for the confiscations at Eresus, were blanket bans pertaining to the entire civic centre.

Charondas' ban applied specifically to the *ekklēsia*, or citizen assembly. It is thus reminiscent of the ban on carrying sticks to the Spartan assembly that Plutarch tells us Lycurgus instituted after the violent encounter that cost him an eye.[15] Clearly in political debates tempers could run high and it made sense to ask men to leave their weapons at the entrance. Diocles' ban, as well as that of Aristomachus, are said to have applied to the 'agora'. While 'agora' here might be shorthand for public place as a whole it is possible that these too were site-specific bans with the implication that outside the market square people could carry weapons unchecked.

As well as taking measures to prevent others from carrying out acts of violence there is also evidence for tyrants employing bodyguards. The bodyguard assigned to Peisistratus in sixth-century Athens has already been mentioned. In his version of the story of Timoleon of Corinth's murder of his tyrant brother Timophanes, Cornelius Nepos mentions the tyrant's bodyguards.[16] Diodorus too describes Timophanes going about in public with a 'band of ruffians'.[17] For the Hellenistic period Plutarch describes how assassins were able to kill the tyrant Aristotimus of Elis, a puppet or at least an ally of Antigonus Gonatas, when he went to the agora without his customary bodyguard.[18] In Posidonius' account (preserved in Athenaeus) of the way that the tyrant Athenion came to power in early first-century Athens, the demagogue is described as approaching the *bēma* in the agora with a 'bodyguard of men who wished to seem important in the eyes of the people'.[19] It must have been fairly common for tyrants to surround themselves with such bands of (presumably) armed men, which no doubt served the double purpose of protection and making a show of force to advertise their power.

For non-tyrannical regimes there has been some speculation about the possibility of civic officials, in particular *agoranomoi*, being sanctioned to use violence to assert their authority. Alain Bresson has argued that *agoranomoi* throughout Greek history were permitted to strike people for trading violations and that they carried a whip for that purpose.[20] He notes that Plato in the *Laws* argues that these magistrates should at least be able to strike slaves and foreigners; he also cites a reference to the same effect in the well-known Andanian Mysteries inscription.[21] The evidence that Bresson produces for *agoranomoi* striking free citizens is, however, all from the Imperial period: an episode in Apuleius' *Metamorphosis*, which despite the comic overtones may well have reflected something of contemporary political reality, and the story in the Gospel of John in which Jesus carries a whip in the temple, which Bresson argues was a deliberate imitation of the behaviour of an *agoranomos*. It is plausible that *agoranomoi* and other magistrates in Hellenistic times commonly used violence to compel obedience, but direct evidence, unfortunately, eludes us.

Violent punishments on the public stage

Throughout history it has been common – as it sadly still is in too large a part of the world – for human cultures to stage violent punishments in public spaces to brutally make an example of those who transgress laws and social norms. We might think of medieval enemies of the state being hanged, drawn, and

quartered, of the public burning of heretics during the wars of religion, or the guillotine of the French Revolution. For antiquity there is abundant evidence for the Romans executing criminals and enemies in gruesome ways in civic space. The bloodletting of the arena under the Empire is only the final stage in a story of violent punishment that stretched back centuries with the Forum typically serving as the venue in pre-Imperial times. [22] The paucity of evidence for such public punishments in the Hellenistic world is therefore striking.

In Greek culture violent public punishment of citizens and particularly mass public executions are typically presented as hallmarks of tyranny. Polybius condemns the second-century BCE tyrant Charops of Epirus for his brutality, stating that he 'murdered some citizens openly in the market-place, and others in their own houses . . . [and] . . . sent emissaries to assassinate others at their country-seats and on the roads'.[23] Significantly the affront of the public killings is mentioned first. In Plutarch's rich account of the murder of Aristotimus of Elis, the tyrant's violence toward his opponents features prominently. He had his men savagely arrest 600 women who were trying to leave the city, after he had tricked them into thinking they had his permission to leave, killing some of their children in the process. When a group of holy women then petitioned him on behalf of the women near the agora, he then had his men beat these women and drive them from the square. The openness of the violence is again presented as a sign of despotism. It is the final straw that leads to the plot against him. There are very few references to public executions carried out by someone other than a tyrant in the extant sources for the period between late fourth century BCE and the first century CE. Plutarch tells us that Duris of Samos alleged that Pericles had crucified some Samian trierarchs and marines in the marketplace of Miletus but Plutarch himself refutes this claim vehemently.[24] Polybius also tells us that the women and children of Apameia stoned to death the wife and sons of Antiochus III's treacherous minister Hermeias.[25] Polybius' chilling matter-of-factness in mentioning the incident raises questions about how common such atrocities might have been in the Hellenistic world.[26] Still, the episode has the flavour of a spontaneous response to Hermeias' fall from grace, what we might call 'popular justice', rather than a punishment arrived at through legal channels. At the very least that suggests that public execution in Greek culture was the exception not the norm.[27] Polybius, incidentally, also felt that the disgraced tyrant Aristomachus should have been dragged around the cities of the Peloponnese and publicly tortured.[28] The Achaean League had instead put him on the rack under cover of night, and had then executed him outside the public sphere by drowning him in the sea (negative connotations of night-time violence may be implied here: see Chaniotis' contribution to this volume). It seems likely that that decision, rather than Polybius' view, is more typical of the Greek attitude to public executions. Perhaps Polybius had spent too long in Rome.

In contrast to the scarcity of evidence for public executions in the Greek world in Hellenistic times, there are more than twenty references by Greek authors in the same period to the Roman authorities carrying out executions in public. These sources tell us about the common Roman punishment for traitors, slaves and foreign

prisoners, which the Romans themselves believed could be traced back to either Romulus or Tarquinius Superbus, whereby the victim was tied to a stake in the forum, scourged with a rod and then beheaded.[29] Several occasions are attested in which criminals and captured prisoners were subjected to this punishment, sometimes in their hundreds.[30] By mid-Republican times, citizen criminals were executed by being thrown to their death from the Tarpeian rock overlooking the Forum.[31] Greek sources also tell us of an individual being publicly stoned,[32] two separate occasions on which Vestal Virgins were dragged through the forum to be buried alive under the city wall for having sexual intercourse while the men who violated them were publicly scourged and beheaded,[33] and the sacrificial burying of two Greeks and a Gaul under the Forum Boarium in accordance with a prophecy of the Sibylline oracle.[34] Toward the end of the period that interests us, Strabo witnessed a horrifically brutal execution staged as entertainment in the Forum.[35] This brief excursus into the world of Rome is instructive. The sheer discrepancy between the wealth of evidence for Roman public executions found in the Greek sources and the paucity of such evidence for the Greek world suggests that we are faced here with a real difference between the two cultures.

The Greeks certainly did execute criminals and enemies and sometimes in quite horrific ways but they seem generally to have chosen venues out of the public gaze. Unfortunately for our purposes, the best evidence concerns Classical Athens. Athens had a reputation for mildness in its attitude toward punishment. Executions did take place but they do not seem to have been frequent or common.[36] The extreme cruelty of the *apotympanismos* method of execution at Athens (a kind of crucifixion whereby the victim was clamped by the neck to a wooden pole and exposed to die) might have been deliberately designed to humiliate the victim, as Margaretha Debrunner Hall has argued.[37] However, there is no evidence that the victims were exposed in a public space such as the agora. Other forms of execution in Athens seem to have taken place away from the civic centre. Plato mentions a place of execution outside the city walls somewhere between Athens and Piraeus.[38] Plutarch tells us that there was a place in the inner city deme Melite where executioners '*now* cast out the bodies of executed criminals and take the clothes and nooses of those who are strangled to death' (my emphasis).[39] This does not mean they were actually killed there, but even if they were, the fact that Plutarch explicitly says that this was the practice in his day means it may have been introduced under Roman influence and even then the spot was removed from the city's main civic centre, the agora. It is hazardous to draw conclusions from absence of evidence but it is striking that for Hellenistic times – and even for after the incorporation of Greece into the Roman Empire – there is no evidence for public executions being staged on Greek agoras as they were on the Forum Romanum.

The political significance of public executions was not lost on Dionysius of Halicarnassus who, in discussing Romulus' motivation for introducing the practice, says that he observed that 'nothing restrains men from all evil actions so effectually as fear, [and he] contrived many things to inspire it'.[40] Public executions are also intended to magnify the punishment by humiliating the victim.

The Hellenistic Greeks might not have carried out anywhere near as many public executions as the Romans but they certainly knew well the punitive power of public humiliation. A range of punishments are attested for the cities of the Hellenistic world in which transgressors of social norms were subjected to public indignity. The psychological trauma inflicted on victims of these shaming ceremonies was intense. Even though they involved little physical harm we are therefore justified in considering them here as a form of civic violence.[41] Sara Forsdyke's recent, illuminating discussion of these rituals sees them as a form of 'popular justice' that existed alongside institutionalised forms of punishment.[42] The evidence, however, does not always allow certainty as to whether such punishments were decreed informally or proscribed by civic authorities, perhaps after due legal process. In any case the distinction matters less here than the inherent violence of the punishments and the ways in which they served to define relations of power within the polis. Unlike stonings, which Forsdyke also classes as popular justice and for which the (limited) evidence has to do with specific cases, the evidence for shaming rituals talks about them in general terms and suggests that they were routinely carried out.

In Catane in Sicily, Diodorus tells us that military deserters were punished by being made to dress in women's clothes and to sit for three days in the agora. For Diodorus this punishment was even worse than death, the standard punishment for desertion elsewhere in the Greek world. He says that 'the severity of the disgrace [the punishment] inflicts, diverts others of like mind from cowardice; for it is *better to die* than to experience such a gross indignity in one's fatherland' (my emphasis).[43] The shame clearly derived from subversion of the strict gender roles that prevailed in Greek society, especially in times of war: men were expected to fight heroically for their fatherland, women to stay at home and manage the *oikos*.[44] At Sparta, cowards were also subjected to public humiliation. They were called *tresantes* (tremblers) and were, so Plutarch tells us, forbidden to hold office, could be struck by anyone they met, and were forced to wear shabby clothes and shave off half of their moustaches, leaving the other half to grow.[45] Plutarch writes in the present tense, but there can have been few *tresantes* in his day, when Sparta was no longer a military power. Nevertheless, it is a fairly safe assumption that this way of dealing with cowardice existed at Sparta throughout the Hellenistic period. Plutarch also tells us that confirmed bachelors were publicly embarrassed on the agora of Sparta. They were forced to parade around the agora in wintertime naked, singing songs about how they were being justly punished for disobeying the law.[46] At Lepreum male adulterers were bound and led around the city for three days.[47] In each of these cases, public humiliation was wielded as a political weapon to enforce conformity to accepted social norms.

If men could be publicly humiliated by being made to act in unmanly – or even, as at Catane, in decidedly womanly ways – there is even more evidence for women themselves being publicly shamed for failing to conform to their expected gender role. At Athens when women were fined by the *gynaikonomoi* Pollux tells us that their punishment was amplified by the fines being displayed on a plane tree in the 'Ceramicus', by which he probably means the agora.[48] This, however,

was a relatively mild punishment compared to the shaming ceremonies that are attested at several poleis to punish female adulterers. Adulteresses at Lepreum were humiliated to a greater degree than men by being forced to stand in the agora wearing transparent clothing.[49] At Cyme they were led around the agora on a donkey and were known thereafter as 'donkey rider' (*onobatis*).[50] Susan Guettel Cole points to a very similar punishment in Pisidia.[51] The efficacy of public shaming as a way of controlling female behaviour is emphasised by one of the more bizarre tales in Plutarch's *Moralia*. At some unspecified time in Miletus' history a peculiar malady had afflicted the city that caused young women to commit suicide through hanging.[52] Eventually it was decided that there must be a supernatural cause and a solution was agreed upon: any woman who hanged herself would be punished, *post mortem*, by having her body carried naked through the agora. Amazingly, this threat brought the mass suicides to a halt. The women's fear of shame was apparently even greater than a demonic force so powerful that it could make people take their own lives.

Shaming ceremonies were a harsh punishment indeed in a culture that attached such tremendous importance to public honour.[53] Inhabitants of Hellenistic poleis found their public actions constantly and intensely scrutinised by their peers. The agora, above all, had always been the place where citizens were under most pressure to uphold their dignity and honour. In Herodotus' story, when Croesus forbids his son to indulge in manly pursuits such as hunting and fighting, he is concerned with how he will be able to show his face on the agora.[54] In Classical Athens one of the most extreme punishments a man could face was to be declared *atimos*, which entailed loss of political rights and exclusion from the agora.[55] Someone who wanted to cast aspersions on his enemy's honour would ask how he dared to enter the agora.[56] Throughout Hellenistic and Roman times, appropriate public behaviour was the subject of a lively, and profoundly political discourse.[57] The deep importance attached to public image, and the agora's importance as the arena in which reputations were made and broken, explains why forcing people to act in ways that were outside the bounds of respectable public conduct on the agora was so effective a punishment for social transgressors. It was a symbolic violence against the individual's reputation that reinforced both social norms and community cohesion by making the crowd that gathered to watch them complicit in the punishment.

Conflict and political murder in public space

So far we have been looking at ways in which both violence and the suppression of violence shaped political power in Hellenistic cities during times of stability. The history of many Greek *poleis* was, however, punctuated by episodes of internal conflict which historians, following Thucydides' lead, call *stasis*. Struggles could result in bloodshed in public space. Much of the political violence in the Hellenistic polis had to do with establishing, averting or overthrowing tyrants. The need to take physical control of the city is, of course, an important reason that political violence tended to focus on civic spaces. The sources, however, suggest a deeper significance to the publicness of this violence that is worth exploring here.

The earliest attempts to establish tyranny through drumming up support in public space pre-date the Hellenistic period. Accounts of these coups, however, are found in Hellenistic and Roman sources, which suggest that they continued to resonate with later attitudes. For example, when Timophanes went about the agora of Corinth with his gang of thugs, Diodorus tells us that it was in order to drum up support for his bid for power. [58] Perhaps our most graphic descriptions of a failed political coup is, however, set in Hellenistic times, at Sparta in 219 BC. Polybius describes how the aristocrat Chilon set out to overthrow the king Lycurgus. He first murdered the ephors while they were at dinner. He then attacked the house of the king but he managed to escape and fled the city. At that point Chilon proceeded to the agora, striking down his enemies as he went, hoping to stir up a mass rising. His attempts were frustrated by the people who turned against him and drove him from the city.[59] The role of the agora in this story recalls a much earlier plot at Sparta, this time against King Aegesilaus II, described in Xenophon's *Hellenica*. The plot was foiled when an informer told the king about it, the informer himself having been taken to the agora by one of the conspirators to see the vast crowd, whom he claimed were enemies of the king.[60] These two conspirators, separated by a century and a half, both hoped that once their rebellions began the people of the agora would rise up to support them.

Tyrant killings, too, typically took place in public spaces, and again the agora is most often attested. The pattern may well have been set by the most famous tyrant-killing in Greek history, the murder of Hipparchus at Athens, while marshalling the cavalry for the Panathenaic possession near the Leochorium, a shrine that must have stood somewhere in the agora, or just outside it. [61] The agora certainly became closely associated with the murder when the Athenians set up the famous statues of the tyrannicides, Harmodius and Aristogeiton, very near the centre of the square.[62] Two other Classical tyrant killings were remembered in Hellenistic times as taking place on agoras, as attested to by Diodorus Siculus. Diodorus tells us that a tyrant was overthrown, at the instigation of a certain Dionysius, on the agora of Ennaeas in 403 BCE.[63] According to his version of events it was also in the agora that Timoleon murdered his brother, the would-be tyrant, Timophanes.[64]

For our purposes it is even more interesting that there is evidence for no less than three separate attempts to assassinate tyrants in the agora of their city in the Hellenistic period – Abantidas at Sicyon, Aristotimus at Elis and Aristomachus at Argos.[65] The first two attempts were successful; the last, as we have seen, was averted by Aristomachus' prohibition on people carrying swords in public. The latest murder that we hear about taking place in an agora in the Hellenistic period dates to the time of the Mithridatic Wars when Roman power had already been established in Greece. Plutarch, in his *Life of Cimon*, describes how Damon of Chaeronea, with sixteen accomplices, ambushed and killed a Roman official while he was making sacrifices at an altar in the agora at dawn.[66] The murder is presented by Plutarch as a purely private affair, an act of reprisal for this Roman making unwelcome romantic advances toward Damon. However, as several scholars have argued, the murder almost certainly had a political dimension; Damon was most probably the leader of an anti-Roman faction within the city.[67]

Plutarch goes on to describe how Damon was judged guilty of murder by the local magistrates but fled the city to lead the life of a bandit before returning only to be murdered in a bathhouse – once again a public location. Shortly after this the nearby rival city Orchomenus hired a Roman informer to accuse the city of Chaeronea itself of the first murder before the Roman governor in Macedonia. It was only the intervention of L. Licinius Lucullus that restored the city in the governor's favour. Lucullus was rewarded with a statue in the agora of Chaeronea, preserving his memory there down to Plutarch's day, when he included a biography of this benefactor of his home town among his *Parallel Lives*.[68]

In his account of the assassination of Aristotimus at Elis, Plutarch provides us a clue as to why tyrant killings so often took place in public space. The murder was not originally planned for that location but the conspirators seized their opportunity when Aristotimus went to the agora without his bodyguard. Plutarch tells how one of the conspirators, a man named Cylon, urged his co-conspirators on with the words: 'Why delay, brave men? Fair is this place (*theatron*) on the soil of your own native land to stage your contest'.[69] The theatre metaphor is significant. It chimes with the modern recognition that political life in general became more concerned with outward display, flamboyance, and stagecraft in Hellenistic times.[70] The word implies visibility, conveys a sense that this was a moment of dramatic historic importance and, above all, conjures up the audience who would have been there to witness the deed – the crowd of the agora. It suggests that staging the murder in so public a setting legitimated it as a righteous deed. The significance of the presence of a crowd to witness a political murder is also made explicit by Diodorus Siculus in his version of the assassination of Timophanes of Corinth. Diodorus tells us that Timophanes was slain by his own brother, the illustrious Timoleon, in the agora of the city because he was believed to be aiming at tyranny.[71] A crowd immediately gathered and began to debate whether he had acted justly.[72] Eventually it was decided that punishment should be suspended, that he should be sent to govern Syracuse and would be judged according to how well he performed that task. Other sources describe the events rather differently but the fact that Diodorus considered his version plausible is revealing about Hellenistic attitudes to the significance of public political murder.[73]

Bearzot has argued persuasively for the existence of the notion of the '*dikaios phonos*', or 'just murder' in Greek culture: it was acceptable to kill a man if it was clear that he presented a threat to the freedom of the community.[74] In this light the political significance of the murder of tyrants in public begins to make sense. Tyrants seem often to have been popular with the masses. Espelosin has suggested that perhaps this was why Arisotimus of Elis felt safe to walk around the city without a bodyguard.[75] Their murders were typically carried out by members of the local elite, motivated by a self-interested desire to take back power that the tyrant had monopolised.[76] It was thus imperative that tyrant killers found a way of convincing their fellow citizens that their actions had been in the public good. Staging the killing in public demonstrated that the perpetrators had nothing to hide and were acting in an honourable tradition that echoed the actions of Harmodius and Aristogeiton; it allowed a group of citizens to act as an impromptu jury in

deciding whether the killing was in the interests of the community, as the passage of Diodorus emphasises. Furthermore, making witnesses of the crowd made them complicit in the murder; if they did not condemn the killing at the scene it would be difficult to voice disapproval later. Finally, the shock of seeing a man suddenly cut down could terrify potential dissenters into silence. After the murder of Aristotimus at Elis his body was displayed in the agora for all to see, thereby both heightening awareness of the deed and, no doubt, propagating the fear of a similar fate for anybody who thought of avenging him or stepping into his position.

It is worth reflecting that the way that victims of such murders have been remembered in the sources – i.e. as tyrants – may to no small degree reflect the narrative that the public murder aimed at constructing. Diodorus states that Timoleon killed his brother because he seemed to be aiming at tyranny while in Plutarch's version he is described as already having taken power and executed some of his fellow citizens.[77] It is possible that the association between Timophanes and tyranny, successfully established through his public murder, had over the course of time become exaggerated. Conversely, the wholly negative way in which Damon was remembered at Chaeronea demonstrates what could happen when the claim to the justness of a killing was rejected. Damon no doubt hoped that he too would be seen as acting in the honourable tradition of tyrant killing but he had misjudged the political climate and performed his role unconvincingly. A salient detail in Plutarch's account of Damon's murder of the Roman is that he struck at dawn when the agora was empty. The setting was public but there was no audience to determine whether the killing was a public service.

Finally, it is useful to consider what the reception of public monuments to tyrant killers suggests about Hellenistic attitudes toward political violence. The most famous such monument is, of course, that of Harmodius and Aristogeiton at Athens. The power of the statues as symbols of political freedom and as a focal point for Athenian identity in Classical times is well known.[78] The Hellenistic period is bracketed by two occasions on which the Athenians overruled a prohibition against setting up other honorific statues in their vicinity; on the first occasion, among the other honours bestowed upon Antigonus Monophthalmus and Demetrius Poliorcetes for freeing them from the rule of Demetrius of Phalerum, they set up gold statues of the pair beside Harmodius and Aristogeiton. Secondly, they decreed statues of Brutus and Cassius on the same spot, to commemorate their part in the murder of Julius Caesar (it is unsure whether these statues were ever erected but, in light of subsequent developments, we can be sure that they cannot have stood for long). The honours for the Antigonids were no doubt intended to suggest a parallel between their 'liberation' of the city and that brought about by the murder of Hipparchus; the statues of Brutus and Cassius more pointedly underlined the belief that murder could be justified if it safeguarded to civic freedom. On both occasions the symbolic charge of the Tyrannicides Monument, and the legendary political murder it represented, was harnessed in the interests of political expediency.

The statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton at Athens exerted a power over the Greek cultural imagination that extended far beyond Athens and lasted until well into the Roman Empire. Philostratus has Apollonius of Tyana berate an Athenian

youth for his enthusiasm at the idea of the Athenians making the 'tyrant' Domitian head of the Panathenaic Festival: it would be an insult to the honour they had paid to Harmodius and Aristogeiton.[79] The words of the Classical aristocratic drinking song to Harmodius and Aristogeiton survive only because the song was known to Atheneaus and recorded in his *Learned Banqueters*.[80] Pseudo-Plutarch reported that, when asked what the best kind of bronze was, Antiphon answered that it must be the bronze from which the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton are made.[81] The days when tyrants could seize control of a polis and end up being murdered in the agora had long since become a thing of the past when these sources were written, yet the notion that political freedom was ultimately safeguarded by the willingness of citizens to take up arms and commit righteous murder continued to resonate not only at Athens but also in the wider Greek world. Diodorus' anecdotes about Solon, in his old age, putting on armour to challenge the power of Peisistratus in public, express a similar sentiment.[82]

Monuments to tyrant killers are also known from the agoras of other cities. The political connotations of the statue of the tyrant killer at Erythrae are well documented by a well-known late-Classical inscription that describes how its sword had been removed during a period of oligarchic ascendency only to be returned under the restored democracy.[83] Pausanias records seeing a monument in the agora of Argos which had been set up to commemorate a victory over a tyrant called Laphaes.[84] Lucullus' statue in the agora of Chaeronea tapped into and reversed the normal pattern by commemorating the sequel to a public political murder that was judged to have been unjust. All of these monuments served as permanent reminders of the thin line that separated civic freedom from tyranny, of the violence that could cause that line to be breached, and of the need sometimes to take violent action to safeguard freedom or to restore liberty. That message must have spoken loudest to members of local elites who produced the written sources that we have mainly been looking at here. In earlier times, they had typically been the ones to challenge tyranny in the interests of their own class. Under the Empire, local elites became secure in positions of local power. To see themselves as the guardians of civic freedom was a convenient fiction that at once served to legitimate their monopolisation of local magistracies, and to play down their lack of political significance on the international stage.

Conclusion

This chapter has aimed to add a new dimension to our understanding of power in Hellenistic politics by exploring various ways in which violence in public space played a role in reproducing or challenging relations of power. In subtle ways both actual violence, whether physical or symbolic, as well as attitudes to public violence, allow us to consider the fracture lines that ran in different directions between different sub-groups in society: between men and women, between citizens and slaves, between criminals and the law-abiding, between the civic authorities and the rest of the population. Both the policing of violence by regulations against carrying weapons and the public shaming rituals we have looked at

served to reproduce the inequalities of power between these various groups while simultaneously contributing to social cohesion through normalising them.

An undercurrent of political tension remained, however, particularly between competing segments of the local elite, and that tension occasionally erupted into actual violent conflict. Tyrants seized power through violence, consolidated their power through violence, and were not infrequently murdered in public space. If there is an almost pattern-like quality to much of this overtly political violence it is partly because the evidence has come down to us in literary sources which tend to find conventional ways of dealing with familiar themes. It is partly, however, because the attitudes found in the literary sources were deeply embedded in Greek culture, so that the ways in which political violence was described on the page became the way in which it was acted out on the ground in public space. Literary sources described tyrants being murdered in public because they were, but tyrants were also murdered in public because that was how the Greeks were taught to do things by tradition and by their literary sources. Real life action and the historical record were mutually reinforcing. As such, while real political violence generally marked a moment of rupture, whether signalling a regime change or merely an attempt at one, at the same time even public political murders served to perpetuate an attitude that was deeply embedded in Greek culture: that ultimately violence was the foundation on which political freedom was built. So profoundly were the ideas of political freedom and justifiable violence intertwined that they continued to be celebrated and commemorated centuries into the Roman Empire, long after the Hellenistic world had come to an end.

Notes

1 The literature is extensive but see Lofland (1998); Low (2000); Hénaff and Strong (2001); Mitchell (2003).
2 For an examination of the historical evolution of the balance between law enforcement and freedom of movement and expression in public space that has been struck in modern western society, see Keller (2009).
3 Keller (2009).
4 The perpetrator, Conon, gives his name to Demosthenes' *Oration* 54. The significance of the publicness of this particular encounter has been explored by Millett (1998).
5 Plut. *Alc.* 8.4. See below for other instances of violence subjugating women.
6 For what it is worth, the violence in the mime is set indoors, as implied at 5.73–4. At one point the woman calls for the slave to be dragged to the executioner, which would have transferred the violence from the private to the public sphere, though she does express concern that he be covered with a rag so as not to be seen naked in the agora (5.46).
7 The case that the polis does not fulfill Weber's definition of a state in this respect has been argued most forcefully by Berent (2000a, 2000b, 2004), and challenged most vehemently by Hansen (2002). See also Miyazaki (2007).
8 Hdt. 1.59. Arist. [*Ath. Pol.*] 14.1. Plut. *Sol.* 30.1. On the possible social background and nature of Peisistratus' bodyguard see Singor (2000: 121–2).
9 Plut. *Dion* 34.1.
10 Charondas of Catane: Diod. Sic. 12.19. Diocles of Syracuse: Diod. Sic. 13.33. Diodorus is himself aware that we are faced here with conflicting versions of the same story and says as much when giving us the version featuring Charondas.

11 The lawgiver breaking his own law was a fairly common trope in the literary sources. Cf. Diod. Sic.13.33,55, Aelian *V.H.* 13.24, [Plut.] *Mor*. 842a–b and Plut. *Sulla* 35.2–3.
12 Thuc. 1.6.1–3.
13 *IG* xii 2 526. For a translation, see Rhodes and Osborne (2003: no. 83); for a commentary, see Heisserer (1980: 27–78); and for a recent discussion of the context, see Ellis-Evans (2012).
14 He was later captured by Antigonus Gonatas and the Achaean League at Cenchreae and tortured and killed: Polyb. 2.59–60. For Aristomachus' familial connections to the Antigonids, see Hammond and Walbank (1988: 273).
15 Plut. *Lyc.* 11.4.
16 Nep. *Timoleon* 1.
17 Diod. Sic. 16.65. 'τοὺς πονηροτάτους'.
18 Plut. *De mul. vir.* 251–3. Gabbert (1997: 42) briefly discusses Aristotimus' connection with Antigonus arguing that the popular interpretation, derived from Polybius (10.22) that he regularly supported tyrants, is unsubstantiated.
19 Ath. 5.212e–f. On Athenion as tyrant see Habicht (1999: 302–4).
20 Bresson (2008: 29ff).
21 Pl. *Leg.* 6.764b. *IG* v 1 1390, discussed by Bresson (2008: 32).
22 On the Forum Romanum as a place of executions see Hinnard (1987).
23 Polyb. 32.5.11.
24 Plut. *Per.* 28.2.
25 Polyb. 5.56.
26 The incident is paralleled in the better known episode in Classical Athens, when the men stoned Lycides for suggesting the city to submit to Persia and the women and children then stoned his wife and children: Hdt. 9.5.3. For a thorough discussion see Rosivach (1987). On the commonplace of politicians calling for their enemies to be stoned in fourth-century sources (without the punishment actually being carried out), see Forsdyke (2008: 40–41).
27 For a good discussion of the distinction and overlap between popular and institutional forms of public punishment in the Greek world, see Forsdyke (2008).
28 Agreeing with his source Phylarchus: Polyb. 2.59–60.
29 On Romulus using the punishment: Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.29.1. Cassius Dio 2.11.6 believed that Tarquinius Superbus had initiated the punishment, at least for citizens.
30 Diod. Sic. 16.45, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.55.2, 5.8.5–6, 5.43.2, 6.30.1, 20.5.5 and 20.16.2. For 5.8.5–6, cf. Plut. *Life of Publicola* 6 and 7.1. For 20.16.2, cf. Polyb. 1.17.2, who puts the number of victims significantly lower (300 rather than 4,500) than Dionysius.
31 Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 8.78.4; Plut. *Cam.* 36.5.
32 Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom*. 8.59.1.
33 Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 8.89.5 and 9.40.4.
34 Plut. *Marc.* 3.4. Also mentioned in *Quaest. Rom.* 283f.
35 A bandit leader from the region of Mount Aetna was suspended atop a scaffold made to resemble the mountain and then dropped into a cage beneath where wild animals were stored: Strabo 6.2.6.30. On the staging of executions as dramatic entertainments in Roman culture with consideration of this particular episode see Coleman (1990).
36 Herman (2006: 291). On methods of execution in general in ancient Athens, see Allen (2000). Adriaan Lanni has argued that the punishment of *apotympanismos* (see n. 37 below) does not necessarily prove that Athens' reputation for mildness was undeserved because it might have been carried out very rarely: http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/1996/96.09.22.html [accessed 17 February 2016].
37 The *apotympanismos* was apparently a punishment primarily for burglars: Hall (1996: 82ff) (with references to ancient sources). Archaeological confirmation of the practice came with the gruesome discovery at Phalerum of the skeletons of 17 victims with the clamps still attached.

38 Pl. *Resp.* 4.439e.
39 Plut. *Them* 22.1.
40 Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.19.1.
41 Tilly (2003: 83, 85 and 87) included shaming ceremonies in the category of 'violent rituals'.
42 Forsdyke (2008).
43 Diod. Sic. 12.16.
44 It would be redundant to provide full references to the recent explosion of literature on gender roles in Greek society but see Blundell (1995).
45 Plut. *Ages.* 30.3. On the *tresantes*, cf. Xenophon *Lac.* 9.4–6; see also Hdt. 7.231–2 and 9.71 on the fate of Aristodemos and Pantites, the only two men to return of the 300 who fought at Thermopylae.
46 Plut. *Lyc.* 15.2.
47 Forsdyke (2008 : 3 n.2). Arist., *Fragmenta* (ed. Rose), frs. 611–42.
48 Pollux 8.112 = Wycherley (1957: no. 719). On the 'Kerameikos' being used as a common name for the agora by Roman times, see Wycherley (1957: 221–4).
49 See n. 43 and also Guettel Cole (1984: 108 n. 49).
50 Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 291 f.
51 Guettel Cole (1984 : 108 n. 49). Nic. Dam. *FGrH* 90 F 103.1.
52 Plut. *De mul. vir.* 249b–c.
53 See Williams (1993).
54 Hdt. 1.37. The significance of this passage is pointed out by Millet (1998: 220).
55 On *atimia*, see Hansen (1991) (consult index) and Wout (2013).
56 As Lycurgus is said to have asked Lysicles sometime after the latter's defeat at Chaeronea: Diod. Sic. 16.88.
57 See Dickenson (2012: Chapter 4).
58 Diod. Sic. 16.65.
59 Polyb. 4.81.9. On this episode see Cartledge and Spawforth (2002: 64).
60 Xen. *Hell.* 3.3–3.6.
61 Hdt. 5.55; Thuc. 6.56–9; Arist. [*Ath. pol.*] 18. The site of the Leochorium has been hotly debated. The most likely candidate seems to be a square enclosure just to the southwest of the Altar of the Twelve Gods: see Thompson and Wycherley (1972: 121–3), with references to earlier theories regarding the location.
62 Wycherley (1957: nos. 256–280 and 171).
63 Diod. Sic. 14.14.
64 Diod. Sic. 16.65.
65 Abantidas and Aristomachus: Plut. *Arat.* 3.4 and 25.3 respectively. For Aristotimus: Plut. *De mul. vir.* 251f –253b. Nothing much is known about any of these three tyrants and they have received only passing attention in modern scholarship. See e.g. Walbank (1984: 231), on Aristotimus, p. 231 and 236, on Abantidas p. 243; for Abantidas, see also Paus. 2.8.2 (who does not mention the location of his assassination), and Skalet (1928: 83). Slightly more can be said about Aristomachus – Walbank (1984: 247–8) – he is also known from an honorific inscription from Athens (*ISE* 1.23).
66 The story is narrated at some length in Plut. *Cim.* 1.4–2.2.
67 Santangelo (2007 : 45–7); Ma (1994); McKay (2000); Duff (1999 : 59–60).
68 Plut. *Cim.* 2.2.
69 '"τί μέλλετ'," <ἀνεβόησεν,> "ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί; καλὸν τὸ θέατρον ἐν μέσῳ τῆς πατρίδος ἐναγωνίσασθαι"': Plut. *De mul. vir.* 253a.
70 See Chaniotis (1997).
71 Diod. Sic. 16.65.
72 'θορύβου δὲ γενομένου καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν συνδραμόντων διά τε τὸ παράδοξον καὶ τὴν δεινότητα τῆς πράξεως στάσις ἐγίνετο': Diod. Sic. 16.65.5.
73 Different versions of the story can be found in Nep. *Timoleon 1* and Plut. *Tim.* 4–7. Key differences in the versions, apart from whether Timophanes was already installed

in power as a tyrant (discussed here in the main text) have to do with the degree of Timoleon's involvement in his murder and the timing of the subsequent decision to exile Timoleon for the crime, and the interval that passed between the murder and Timoleon's departure for Sicily. The discrepancies have been considered recently by Teodorsson (2005: 216–17).

74 See Bearzot (2007: esp. pp. 37–47).

75 Espelosin (1991: 107). On the popularity of tyrants see Tarn (1913: 280) and Mandel (1979).

76 Espelosin has argued that several details in Plutarch's account of Aristotimus of Elis' murder point to an aristocratic conspiracy: Espelosin (1991). Santangelo (2007: 45–7) has reconstructed a similarly aristocratic background for Damon of Chaeronea.

77 Diod. Sic. 16.65. Plut. *Tim.* 4.3.

78 On the symbolic power of the statues in Classical Athens see e.g. Taylor (1991); Rhodes (1992: 63–4); Raaflaub (2000); Ober (2003).

79 Philostr. *VA* 8.16.2.

80 Ath. 695 a–b = Crawford and Whitehead (1983: no. 73).

81 [Plut.] *X orat.* = Wycherley (1957: no. 273).

82 Diod. Sic. 9.4 and 9.20. Cf. Plut. *Sol.* 30.4 where a similar episode is described although there rather than wearing his armour Solon sets it up outside his house after confronting the tyrant in the agora.

83 *Erythrai* 34. On the exploitation of the monument for propaganda purposes by both sides in this internal political struggle, see Ober (2003: esp. 227).

84 Paus. 2.21.8.

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3 Ideology of war and expansion?

A study of the education of young men in Hellenistic gymnasia[1]

Andrzej S. Chankowski

Introduction

It is generally recognised today that the gymnasium was one of the main institutions of Hellenistic cities, whose very presence enables the identification of whether a given community can qualify as a polis or not.[2] This view, already formulated by ancient writers, was recently and dramatically supported by the discovery of a letter from the Attalid King Eumenes II addressed to the small community of Toriaion in Central Asia Minor. During an administrative tour of the territories that were granted to him by the Romans in the Treaty of Apamea of 188 BCE, Eumenes II responds positively to the request of a community whose status is unclear and who wishes to become a city (*polis*). We witness here the creation of a new city: the establishment of civic institutions, the structuring of a nascent civic body, and the organisation of a gymnasium.[3]

Originally a place of 'sporting' and military exercises, the gymnasium becomes, in the Hellenistic period, a training site for different groups of young men. These are primarily the ephebes, that is to say, those who have just reached the threshold of adulthood (usually around the age of 18 years). Training alongside the ephebes in the gymnasium are the *neoi* (or *neaniskoi* or *neōteroi*), young men who have left the ephebeia but who, while already considered adult citizens, continue to exercise in a programme similar to that of the ephebes.[4] The dissemination of the gymnasium in the massively expanded Greek world following the conquests of Alexander the Great thus disseminates an educational model based on the ephebeia, an institution created in Athens at an unknown date, but attested from the years 380–370, and which appears during the Hellenistic period in over one hundred cities.[5]

A rite of passage into adult society at the symbolic level, the ephebeia appears, at the practical level, to predominantly serve as preparation for war. Other educational elements play a secondary role or appear later. The finding that the most common educational institution in the world of Hellenistic cities, one that could be called an 'institution of civic initiation', seems to be war-oriented raises questions about the causes and consequences of this situation. Did cities impose military training on their youth because they wanted to train the good soldiers they needed? Or, on the contrary, did their practical needs in this case play a secondary

role and was it a question of imitating an educational model considered a vehicle for the core values of the city (*polis*)? For young people attending a gymnasium, did war, struggle, and violence appear on their horizon as tangible realities? What is the place of war and violence in the ideology of the city, as imparted to young people before their integration into the community of adult citizens? In this chapter, I will try to answer these questions.

Athens: expanding the fatherland

> I shall not hand the fatherland on lessened, but greater and both as far as I am able and with all.[6]

The Athenian Ephebic Oath, from which this quote is drawn, is well-known. However, this sentence has not attracted as much attention as it deserves. Could we imagine that, in a modern state, recruits (be they part of compulsory or professional service) are committed by oath to 'expand the fatherland'? At first glance, we would take such a practice as the expression of an ideology that promotes expansion and threatens neighbouring countries. Yet that is what Athenian ephebes did, according to this text, whose authenticity cannot be questioned. The parallel between the ephebes and the recruits of modern armies seems historically relevant. It was, indeed, young Athenians between the age of 18 and 20 years who, in order to become full citizens, had to perform a service preparing for both war and public life through weapons training exercises, patrol tasks (*peripoloi*) and fortress guards (*phrouroi*), religious rites and group life reflecting the division of the civic body in tribes under the orders of city-appointed officials.[7] The very place of the ephebeia in the life of an Athenian male – his debut coincided chronologically with his enrolment on a citizens' list in his deme – indicates its intrinsic connection with integration into the community of adult citizens. The result is that the message to the ephebes during their service is very revealing of the Athenian civic ideology of the time.

The rhetoric employed by the Ephebic Oath is significant. The verb παραδιδόναι is drawn from military vocabulary. Notably, this is what the fortress guards did who, once their task was complete, had to pass on the fortress to their successors.[8] In this case, the use of the verb is figurative: young Athenians about to become citizens undertook the task of passing on the entire city to future generations, understood in both tangible terms (its territory, χῶρα, with all that it produces) and abstract terms (the word πατρίς, used here instead of the word *polis*, being an emotional and subjective notion).[9]

Although we do not know the exact date of the establishment of the ephebeia in Athens, we have sufficient grounds to consider that the text of the Oath, inscribed around 340 BCE on the famous stele of Acharnai and cited in 331/30 before the Athenian court by the orator Lycurgus, is ancient, and dates back to at least the first half of the fourth century.[10] It is therefore at least from this time that the Athenians were keen to pass on to their 'youth' entering public life the idea of the 'expansion of the homeland'.

Naturally, we would like to be able to specify what expansion of the country the Athenians were considering: was it territorial, economic, or cultural? Firstly, we will consider the theme of *auxēsis* of the city that was clearly present in Athenian literature in the time preceding the Peloponnesian War.[11] By *auxēsis* of the city, the Athenians of that time meant predominantly the expansion of their *archē*, that is to say, the space controlled by military and administrative means and economically exploited by them. Despite the Athenian defeat of 404, this subject had disappeared neither from public discourse nor Athenian politics. Up to the end of the Social War (357–355 BCE), Athenian policy and ideology were haunted by what Ernst Badian described as 'the ghost of empire': the will to rebuild the empire.[12] It was only with the appearance of Isocrates' *On the Peace* and Xenophon's *On Revenues* in the middle of the fourth century that the idea of the expansion of the city ceased to be exclusively expressed in spatial terms; indeed, other ways of conceptualising the expansion of the city appear.[13] In the speeches of Demosthenes, the idea of Athens' greatness is conceived more 'spiritually' than territorially; nevertheless, his policy had clearly intended to retain Aegean territory under Athenian influence. Probably the most original way to understand the expansion of the city was conceived by Lycurgus: his initiatives, sometimes referred to anachronistically by the designation 'cultural policy', aimed to expand Athens in both its material and moral state.[14] This new concept of the expansion of the city was destined for a long future. In the second century BCE, at a time when Athens no longer played a major political role, Athenians evidently thought of the cultural influence of Athens as the way to maintain and expand their city. They simultaneously renewed the old cults, wanting thereby to assert their identity.[15]

By committing to 'expand the fatherland', the Athenian ephebes from the middle of the fourth century were therefore not necessarily considering conquest and imperialism. But it is undeniable that, in the Ephebic Oath, the territory (*chōra*) of the city, designed as both a geographical entity (hence the presence of its borders) and as a source of agricultural production, is clearly expressed and presented as a value for which a good citizen should *militarily* fight. As a result, from the fourth century, there could be a discrepancy between how concretely to conceive the expansion of the city (that one could consider in different forms) and the discourse about it (which still had a military sense). Nothing illustrates this discrepancy better than the long decrees in honour of the ephebes and their officials in the late second century BCE. For example, in the decree passed in honour of the ephebes in the year 123/22 and their *kosmētēs* Dionysios, the objectives of the ephebic service are presented as follows:

> since the People have always taken the greatest care in the education and discipline of ephebes, with the desire that those who pass from the group of boys to the group of adults become worthy heirs of their fatherland; (*since the People*) ordained by the laws that the ephebes become acquainted with the territory, fortresses and borders and that they carry out weapons exercises preparing for war; (*since*) through such an education the People have crowned the city with the finest and noblest trophies. . . .[16]

In reading this text, one might get the impression that, regarding the purpose and process of the ephebeia, nothing had changed between the second half of the fourth century and the second half of the second century BCE. The concept of the fatherland as a legacy that the youth must receive as an inheritance and pass on to their successors remains the same; to do so, they must acquire military experience through exercises with weapons and the guard and patrol services in preparation for a possible war. However, at the political level, the situation between the two eras is radically different. At the time the Ephebic Oath was engraved, Athens was engaged in the struggle for hegemony against Philip II of Macedon; in 122/21,[17] formally independent but already integrated into the Roman Empire and protected by its alliance with Rome, Athens did not need to consider a defensive war, nor for that matter have the means to conduct an expansionist war.[18] Not until the First Mithridatic War (88–86 BCE) was its security questioned again. And yet, in the decree of 122/21, the purpose of ephebic education (*agōgē*) is explicitly defined as a preparation for war. It is an ideological message that is not only out of touch with political reality, but is also not consistent with what the ephebes actually did. Indeed, the detailed presentation in the same decree of the ephebes' activities during their service shows that military exercises constituted but a small part: most of their time was devoted to participation in the cults and familiarisation with the monuments evoking the glorious past of Athens.

This is due, in my opinion, to the place that the warrior function took in the ideology of the polis and in the concept of citizenship. The ephebeia conveys the concept of the citizen/soldier. The result of the desire to maintain this ideology, one capable of ensuring society's cohesion, is that the significance citizens give to the ephebeia is expressed in terms that are archaic and are displaced relative to the evolving historical circumstances. In ordering their ephebes to prepare for war, the Athenians were not envisaging that they do this for any concrete military mission; they did it because they were convinced that this is how their youth became good citizens.

Does this gap between the practical and ideological value of ephebeia, which is observed in the late Hellenistic era in Athens, exist in other cities of the Hellenistic world?

Ephebeia and war in the Hellenistic world

The Greek cities of the Hellenistic period, which have already been a focus of interest for researchers for several decades, are becoming better known to us. A relative abundance of sources, notably inscriptions, allows us to study the diversity and often-innovative nature of their institutions. It is in this line of research that reflections on their military institutions are situated.[19] There are numerous decrees demonstrating that military affairs (army, walls, protection of the territory) were a common concern of the citizens of these communities, and not without reason. Greek cities were acquainted with the phenomenon of war not only as great wars between the kings with which they were sometimes confronted, but, above all, in the form of local wars. To characterise these wars, we tend to speak in ongoing

research of 'defence of the territory', as if it would have only involved defensive actions. However, as evidenced by the Athenian Ephebic Oath, the idea of bearing arms for one's city may well be associated with the idea of its expansion. Admittedly, cities must defend their territories not only against brigands, pirates, and barbarian tribes, but also against the acquisitiveness of neighbouring cities. To speak only of defence is to neglect the expansionism of Greek cities. In this period, we are aware of several cases of cities that attempt, by various institutional means (*sympoliteia*, *synoikismos*), to 'absorb' cities or neighbouring villages in order to expand their territory and increase their population.[20] This is the case for Cos that, around 200 BCE, incorporated the neighbouring island and small city of Calymna by imposing a *homopoliteia* treaty (a form of *sympoliteia*). On this occasion, the citizens of both parties had to take an oath to preserve the new united city, to retain its democratic regime and its defensive system, and 'not allow the territory of Cos to be diminished, but . . . increase it to the best of [their abilities]'.[21] Having been expanded through the absorption of a neighbour, the city of Cos formulates, in words very similar to the Athenian Ephebic Oath, the idea of expansion as one of its founding principles.[22]

To the phenomenon of expansion we can include incursions on the territory of other cities for economic reasons (property seizure, crop destruction, livestock theft, etc.). We can therefore safely say that violent conflicts with neighbours constituted the daily reality of many Hellenistic cities.

Among the responses that cities gave to these challenges, we must first mention their armed forces: their existence is now commonly accepted. Given they were not composed of mercenaries, but of citizens, it is reasonable to question their preparation for this task. Can the gymnasium be considered a place of exercise in preparation for war? Since the Athenian model seems to have played a decisive role in the diffusion of the ephebeia, one might expect the military focus of the ephebeia to be taken up and imitated everywhere. In the system in effect in Athens between 335/34 and 322/21 BCE, the ephebes were taught by professional teachers in hoplite combat (*hoplomachein*), archery (*toxeuein*), javelin (*akontizein*) and throwing stones and arrows using a catapult (*katapaltēn aphienai*). They had to pass an 'exam' of manoeuvring in ranks (*ta peri tas taxeis*) before the People gathered in the theatre and carry out a patrol (*peripoloi*) and fortress guard (*phrouroi*) 'practicum'.[23] From this developed training programme, what do we find in gymnasia in different cities of the Hellenistic world?

By viewing organisations in Hellenistic cities as entirely dependent on kings and, therefore, by denying the existence of military institutions proper to the cities, scholars of previous generations presented the Hellenistic gymnasia as places of general education for the social elite. [24] In response to such opinions, recent research tends to emphasise strongly the almost exclusively military focus of education in Hellenistic gymnasia.[25] This interpretation is based in particular on the provisions of the gymnasiarchic law of Beroia, which in the first half of the second century BCE, shortly before the catastrophe of the Antigonid dynasty against Rome in the Battle of Pydna (168), regulated the functioning of the gymnasium in this Macedonian city. It provided a *daily* training schedule for

ephebes and *neoi* ('ex-ephebes') for two years after they had left the ephebeia in archery, javelin and other disciplines if needed.[26] Stressing the intensity of training young Macedonians, Philippe Gauthier and Miltiade Hatzopoulos conclude: 'The Macedonian gymnasium trained good soldiers and served as recruitment for the royal army.'[27]

The renewed stress on the military character of education in gymnasia is an undeniable advance of recent research. However, it is important to highlight its limitations. Firstly, we must emphasise the specificity of the role of cities and their gymnasia in the Antigonid kingdom compared to the situation of cities in other parts of the Hellenistic world. Having trained in their cities' gymnasia, young Macedonians were not destined to serve in the militia of their own cities but in the ranks of the royal army. The objective of education at Beroia was not the same as that of education in a city like Miletus, which for a long period enjoyed freedom and was engaged in wars against its neighbours,[28] or in a partially autonomous city such as Priene which, during the Galatian invasions in the first half of the third century, used its armed forces to protect its territory and secure its people.[29] If we were to seek parallels for the Macedonian model, we would look to the cities of Sicily under the dominion of Hiero II of Syracuse (275–215 BCE) who, to strengthen his military potential, supported the training of the 'young people' (*neaniskoi*) in the cities that made up his kingdom, viewing the local gymnasia as the recruitment pools of the royal army.[30] This role of the gymnasia in the cities of Sicily continued after the integration of the island into the Roman Empire, for the Romans entrusted the security of the island to local military forces, comprised of soldiers pre-trained in the gymnasia of this region's cities.[31]

A second reservation relates to the nature of the training. Given the dominant role in the Hellenistic armies of infantry armed in the Macedonian way with a pike (*sarissa*)[32] and/or armed in the hoplite fashion with a spear (*dory*) and a large shield, one would expect that the Hellenistic gymnasia were, above all, the place to learn the handling of such weapons and manoeuvring in ranks, skills which the Athenian ephebes of the fourth century were expected to attain. However, this is plainly not the case. Exercises of manoeuvring in ranks are only directly attested in the cities that were part of the Boeotian Confederacy, in which the ephebeia clearly plays the role of military service.[33] For other cities, we only hear about the *hoplomachia*, exercises with hoplite weapons. Admittedly, the *hoplomachia* could encompass not only individual learning but also manoeuvring in ranks.[34] However, it seems that during the Hellenistic period it becomes more a 'sporting' discipline than a military one, more individual than collective. This is evidenced by the *hoplomachia* competitions organised in the gymnasia, in which victory is proclaimed for an individual and not a group.[35] Moreover, the *hoplomachia* is not systematically attested in all gymnasia of the Greek world: it holds a secondary role to archery (*toxeuein*) and javelin (*akontizein*), disciplines that could be described as typically ephebic.[36] There is a notable paradox in Beroia, a city integrated into the Antigonid system of organising the royal army: the gymnasiarchic law of Beroia only mentions the javelin and archery exercises, which are secondary to the needs of the royal army. It is as if the Macedonian gymnasia

were designed to provide the ephebes with general physical skills, but not necessarily the ability to manoeuvre in the ranks of the Macedonian phalanx, which they would only acquire after leaving the walls of the gymnasium and integrating into the army.[37]

To clarify this paradox, some commentators have suggested that the prevalence of archery and javelin exercises reflected the practical needs of Hellenistic cities. Since they were less confronted by 'large scale' war proper to kings, cities would firstly train lightly armed troops, assuming patrol tasks of the *chōra* and wall guards, and use them in small local wars where ambushes played a more important role than ranked battles. This interpretation would allow us to understand the situation of small cities, but it leaves unanswered the question of where the soldiers of Miletus and Magnesia on the Maeander, who in the 180s fought against each other in a war over disputed territory, had been trained.[38] Finally, this explanation certainly does not account for the Macedonian cities.

According to another proposed explanation,[39] the orientation of ephebic training in Hellenistic gymnasia should be sought from an anthropological perspective. In the well-known interpretation put forward by Pierre Vidal-Naquet, the ephebic institution as observed in Athens during the fourth century should be considered as the extension, on an 'imaginary' level, of ancient rites of passage.[40] According to the principle of polarity that structuralist anthropology has outlined, in order to dramatise the passage in another social category, the young people subjected to such rituals often adopted, during the probationary period, a reverse role from that which they were expected to assume as adults. It is this principle of polarity which would then allow us, according to this interpretation, to understand why young Athenians practised as lightly armed soldiers ('anti-hoplites') and played the role of patrollers and guards, while at the conclusion of ephebeia they had to take their place in the ranks of hoplites.[41] According to certain researchers, this interpretation, supported by Pierre Vidal-Naquet essentially through Athenian sources from the archaic and classical periods, would also be applicable to the ephebeia as observed at work in the gymnasia of Hellenistic cities: the ephebes of these cities were the heirs of the 'black hunter' ('anti-hoplite') figure.

Neither of these explanations seems to me to be entirely convincing. If the military nature of the ephebic training is undeniable, it is difficult to make sense of it *solely* in a pragmatic perspective because of the discrepancy between the form of learning and its supposed objective. But nor do I think that the interpretation that the ephebes of the cities in the Hellenistic period were the descendants of the 'black hunter' is necessarily sound.[42] I suggest that the dissemination of these practices is best explained through a cultural model. If, in a gymnasium, the ephebes practised a particular military exercise, it is because their city had taken on, in the field of education, the most common cultural model. According to this model, the integration of youth into adult society followed a system of training, which originally endowed the citizen with a warrior function. The military orientation and military values were thus also maintained when these values no longer served a practical purpose: the presence or absence of a particular discipline in the learning programme was more a result of tradition than the practical needs of a given city.

Long Athenian decrees in honour of Athenian ephebes and their officials from the late Hellenistic era illustrate well, once again, these points. When we learn that the ephebes of the year 123/22 'surrendered weapons on the borders of Attica and became familiar with the *chōra* and the roads',[43] we understand that they were not preparing to defend Attica in this way, but that were taking up a practice that traditionally belonged to the ephebes. Perhaps going back to very ancient initiation rites, taking on a clearly military significance in the fourth century, this practice reappears here in a cultural dimension. This 'acculturation' also involves machines of war. We read in the same decree:

> wanting to comply with the attitude of *kosmētēs,* in the interest of the city and for their own seemliness, [the ephebes] have repaired at their own expense one of the old catapults to throw stones and, having provided the missing parts, they have by this restoration renewed the use of and training with this machine for several years.[44]

Like their counterparts of the fourth century, the ephebes of the second half of the second century learned to operate a catapult. But the role of these exercises changed dramatically between the two eras. In times past, they were part of the ephebes' intensive training programme implemented by the Athenians in 335/34 BCE with a view to increasing the military capabilities of their city. But at the end of the second century, the significance of this exercise appears altogether different. The key word is ἀνανεοῦσθαι ('renew'): it involved resuming a practice that had apparently been abandoned for some time.[45] It seems unlikely that the citizens gathered in the Assembly who voted on this decree considered it necessary to increase the military potential of the city in this way at a time when it was not threatened. They believed instead in upholding the glorious tradition of their city (with which ephebes also had to familiarise themselves through visits to 'places of memory') and preparing them for the responsibilities of adult citizens, by 'forging their characters' through military exercises similar to those of times past.[46]

To better illustrate this, I will use the ceremony of weapons transfer to young people as a case study. Taking on a clearly military significance, this ceremony lasts for several centuries, appearing in different contexts. But will it always put its military value first?

The transfer of weapons to young people

In Athens, the rite of the transfer of weapons to a young man is first attested in iconography. Among the scenes that represent a soldier receiving weapons, there are those in which the soldier is presented as beardless, an iconological sign of the young man on the threshold of adulthood.[47] These scenes have often been interpreted as the 'departure of the warrior'.[48] This undoubtedly valid interpretation for adult soldiers does not fully explain the meaning of the scenes with young soldiers: rather, it is a scene that represents the attainment for a young Athenian of hoplite status, that is to say, an adult citizen-soldier.[49] In any event, it is pointless to try

to put such a scene in connection with a definite ceremony taking place in a specific institutional context. Aristotle (or his student) informs us that in his time (the 330s), the ephebes received a hoplite panoply from the city at the end of the first year of their training. However, the presence of this ceremony in the ephebic service seems to be an innovation introduced by the reform of the ephebeia in 335/34, which especially involved the payment by the city of living expenses during the training (a cost previously covered by the families of young people). Before the reform, the purchase of hoplite weapons was the responsibility of the families of ephebes, which excluded the poorest from service and explains why the city seems not to solemnise the transfer of weapons at this time. The representations of the transfer of weapons on Attic vases, which are much older than the first attestation of the ephebic institution, cannot therefore be linked with a ceremony taking place as part of the ephebeia: they reflect the link, in the conceptualisation of the city, between the passage of the 'youth' group to that of 'adults' (understood as two components of the city) and assuming the function of a warrior.

The transfer of weapons to the wards of the city must also be interpreted as an ideological message to all 'young people'. We know that several cities took responsibility for the sons of citizens who had died for the city. We know more details about this in Athens and Thasos.[50] In the fourth century, these two cities took charge of minors of citizens who had died for the fatherland; when they reached adulthood, they received, during a solemn ceremony, a panoply from the city. The city thus symbolically demonstrated the function of warriors to orphans, but also to all young people who reached adulthood.

In the Hellenistic period, the transfer of weapons to young people is attested in many gymnasia, but the context appears very different. This involves, firstly, the practice of offering weapons (most often shields) as prizes to those victorious in contests held in gymnasia; very often, these prizes were then dedicated in gymnasia as offerings. Thus, in the second half of the second century in Sestos, a small city on the Thracian Chersonese, the gymnasiarch Menas is lauded, among other reasons, for the following:

> he celebrated a contest in honour of Hermes and Heracles [. . .], offering as prizes for the competitions for the *neoi* and ephebes with an inscription and bound in shield-cases [?], on which he inscribed the names of the victors and [which he] immediately dedicated in the gymnasium.[51]

In Pergamum at about the same time, an anonymous gymnasiarch had distinguished himself by providing, throughout his time in office, weapons at the gymnasium.[52] These weapons were not used in military exercises (that young Pergamenes probably practised)[53] but were given as contest prizes.[54] The practice of offering weapons as a prize and turning them into offerings could therefore also exist in gymnasia where the training of young people was clearly war-oriented. This is evidenced by the case of Beroia where, on one hand, ephebes used weapons for their military exercises and, on the other hand, weapons were awarded to contest winners and then dedicated.[55]

We do not know how these weapons were transferred to the winners of contests held in gymnasia, so we cannot say whether the form of such a ceremony resembled that of the transfer of weapons to ephebes in Athens (the details of which are also unknown), or to orphans in Thasos and Athens. What is more important is the ideological message: should we see, in the awarding of prizes in gymnasia, a ceremony that is completely detached from its original meaning and that in no way refers to the duty to fight for one's city? When we learn that an *agōnothetēs* of Chios who organised a festival in honour of the goddess Roma shortly after the Treaty of Apamea (188 BCE), had used the prizes offered to the young people of the gymnasium as a support to engrave 'stories for the glory of the Romans',[56] we have the impression that these are purely decorative objects, souvenirs of a 'sporting' event and a political celebration that are in no way related to war. This impression may, in my opinion, be misleading. Around 130, the Milesians established the cult of the Populus Romanus and Roma, and tasked the acquirer of the new cult's priesthood with offering weapons as prizes for the contest that was organised as part of this celebration. Despite the clearly votive character of these weapons, which, according to usual practice, were to be dedicated, they are classified as πολεμιστήρια, 'of war'.[57] The use of this epithet proves that the Milesians continued to associate them with war and bestowed them with military value.

Although the offering of weapons as prizes appears in the Hellenistic gymnasia in a very different institutional context from the transfer of weapons to ephebes or orphans in the classical period, it may, in my view, be considered the expression of the same ideological message that associates the integration of the young into the community of adult citizens with the duty to bear arms for one's city. Angelos Chaniotis has drawn attention to the presence of the theme of war and violence in the public sphere of Hellenistic cities, parallel to its rarity in the private sphere.[58] In frequenting a gymnasium, the ephebes and the *neoi* were certainly not confronted with representations of dying Gauls or Gigantomachia, but observed the omnipresent weapons in this space daily. An inventory of Delos (in the year 156/55) lists, among the items placed in the local gymnasium, 98 shields.[59] There is no doubt that these bronze and wooden shields, some of which were gilded and/or bore portraits, served a solely decorative purpose and had been dedicated as offerings. We know, moreover, that neither at the time of independence (314–167 BCE) nor at the time of the Second Athenian Domination (167–69 BCE) did Delos, a demilitarised community, so to speak, have an army. Yet the inhabitants of the island saw the weapons as the most appropriate objects to be transferred to young people as a prize and/or to decorate the gymnasium. If they did so, it was because they were following a cultural model in which the transition of young people to adulthood was intrinsically linked to the investment by the young man in his role as warrior.

Rivalry: a reigning principle of life in the gymnasium

Around the year 220, the Cretan city of Drerus decided that henceforth every year the young 'members of the *agelē*, completely unbelted' (ἀγελάοι πανάζωστοι) should undertake an oath to hate the city of Lyttus.[60] The context

of this decision was in all likelihood very concrete, that of the Cretan war of 221–219 BCE between, on the one hand, Drerus and Cnossus and, on the other, Lyttus.[61] Nevertheless, the oath of Drerus offers a very interesting testimony on the 'institutionalised hatred', as it were, of a neighbour that was included among the objectives of the education of future citizens. No Hellenistic gymnasium, however, provides relevant parallels to this.

I believe that the reigning atmosphere in the gymnasium was not, firstly, governed by the hatred of neighbours, nor by warlike aggression supposedly provoked by the omnipresence of weapons, but by the rivalry between young people. In a well-known article, Michael Wörrle sought to reflect on the tensions and stress created by the ongoing rivalry instilled in young people in the gymnasium that then extended into adulthood.[62] The decree in honour of Menas of Sestus formulates this explicitly: the emulation that young people had to demonstrate during their training prepared them for the rivalry between the benefactors for the rewards of the People in which they are expected to participate as adults.

> Therefore, so that the people may be seen to be honouring excellent men, and to be welcoming those who from their earliest manhood have shown zeal concerning matters of public interest, and not be falling short in returning gratitude, and so that others seeing the honours which are paid by the people to excellent men, should emulate the finest deeds and be encouraged towards excellence (*aretē*), and public interests may be furthered when all are striving to achieve glory and are always securing some benefit to their native city . . [63]

The rivalry of young people in the gymnasium and that of citizens in adult life is presented here as one and the same; such rivalry was the reigning principle of political and social life of the city, in a social system that modern historians label 'euergetic'.

This is, according to the same decree, the main purpose of military exercises practised by young people: javelin, archery and racing events must inculcate a taste for exercise and effort, so that 'their souls, vying for courage (*andreia*), were practising in excellence (*aretē*)'.[64] Analogously, the decree honouring the *kosmētēs* Dionysius who, with the Athenian ephebes in the year 123/22, restored an old catapult,[65] lauds him for having ensured that, on this occasion, the ephebes 'compete zealously (*philotimia*) against each other'.[66] Hidden behind a bombastic style, we discover the idea that the exercises and initially military contests have no practical significance, but serve to instil courage in young people: the real purpose of these exercises would not reside in learning to wield weapons, but in fact to develop mutual *philotimia*.

Andreia, an ancient military virtue, is presented here as one of the main objectives of the educational model in effect. The means used to inculcate young people (military exercises) developed this ancient warrior tradition. However, the authors of these decrees were well aware that the context in which future adult citizens should put that virtue into practice is not that of war, but of noble rivalry between the benefactors for the rewards of the People.[67]

Conclusion

The existence in Hellenistic cities of a 'culture of war', and the concrete forms it takes in space and time, have recently attracted the attention of several researchers.[68] If such a culture exists, it is certainly conveyed (although perhaps not exclusively) through the ephebeia and the educational model practised in the gymnasia, in which the 'warrior function' takes an important place. By its form and ideological content, this model retains the military values encompassed in the concept of the polis. These values are retained even when the political and concrete social context renders them, as one might assume, null and void. Indeed, they remain vivid because their place in the political and social system has been reinterpreted. It would therefore be wrong to speak of a blind conservatism preserving a cultural model that has fallen into disuse against the current of real life; rather, it involves the adaptation of a cultural model which is considered fundamental to the maintenance of the identity of the city in response to the challenges of changing times.

Notes

1 The author and the editors would like to thank Jeremy Daly for translating the original French version of this chapter into English.
2 On the gymnasium as an architectural form, see Delorme (1960). On the gymnasium as an institution, see Kah and Scholz (2004). On the different groups of young people exercising in gymnasia, see Chankowski (2010).
3 See Jonnes and Ricl (1997); Kennell (2005: 11–15).
4 Chankowski (2010: 253–65); Kennell (2013b: 217–32).
5 Kennell (2006); Chankowski (2010: 434–6, 441–543). Cf. Gauthier (1995).
6 RO 88, l. 9–11: ὀκ ἐλάττω παραδώσω τὴν πατρίδ|α, πλείω δὲ καὶ ἀρείω κατά τε ἐμαυτὸν κα|ὶ μετὰ ἁπάντων. I borrow the translation of these editors who summarise the relevant discussion and bibliography.
7 For the Athenian ephebeia, see Pélékidis (1962); Chankowski (2010: 45–142).
8 Robert (1990: 299–300 [text], 345–55 [commentary]).
9 On the notion of *patris*, see Cuchet (2006). On the idea of the 'transmission of the city' in Hellenistic inscriptions, see Hamon (2008: 75–6).
10 Steinbock (2011).
11 Węcowski (1996: 246–7); and Węcowski (2000).
12 Badian (1995: 79–106).
13 Gauthier (1976: 204–15).
14 Humphreys (1985: 199–252); Humphreys (2004: 110–29).
15 The largest summary is that of Habicht (1995) (English translation 1999). On the 'cultural policy' of Athens in the late Hellenistic period, see Perrin-Saminadayar (2007: 171–95). On the revival of cults in Athens, see Deshours (2011: 87–154). Cf. Chankowski (2005: 196–8).
16 *IG* ii² 1006 + 1031, l. 52–55: ἐπειδὴ ὁ δῆμος τὴν πλείστην σπουδ[ὴν ποι]εῖται τῆς τῶν ἐφή|βων ἀγωγῆς καὶ εὐταξίας βουλόμενος το[ὺ]ς ἐκ τῶν πα[ί]δων μεταβαίνοντας εἰς τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς γίνεσθαι τῆς πατρίδος διαδ[ό]||χους καὶ προσέταξεν διὰ τῶν νόμω[ν] τ[ῆ]ς τε χώρας κα[ὶ] τῶν φρουρίων καὶ τῶν ὁρίων τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐμπείρους γίνεσθαι ἔν τε τοῖς ὅπλοις | τὴν εἰς πόλεμον ἀνήκουσαν ἄσκησι[ν ποιεῖ]σθαι καὶ διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην ἀγωγὴν καλλίστους καὶ σεμνοτάτους τροπαίοις τὴν πόλιν ἐστεφά[νω]||σεν κτλ.
17 According to the Athenian practice, the decree *IG* ii² 1006 + 1031, honouring the ephebes of the year 123/22 BCE, was voted on the following year, that is to say, in 122/21.

18 The conclusion date of the formal alliance between Athens and Rome remains a subject of discussion; Habicht (1995: 214) (= 1999: 212) believes it concluded during the Roman war against Antiochus III (192–88). Between 196 (peace with Philip V) and 88 (the start of the Mithridatic Wars), the attack on Oropus (around 158–157) can be mentioned as the only military conflict in which Athens actually participated. But the scale of this conflict (an incursion on the territory of a small neighbouring city) and its outcome (regulations imposed by Rome) demonstrate the limits of the Athenians in using their armed forces. On the Oropus affair, see Habicht (1995: 266–69 = 1999: 264–9).
19 Ma (2000: 337–76); Boulay (2013).
20 Robert (1990: 318–19).
21 *Staatsverträge des Altertums* III, 545, l. 26–27: οὐδὲ τὰγ Κώιαν ἐλάσσω γινομέναν περιοψεῦμαι, ἀλλ' αὐξήσω | κατὰ δύναμιν τὰν αὐτοῦ (transl. Austin 2006, n° 153). Cf. Sherwin-White (1978: 125–6); Backer (1991).
22 Cf. the Oath of Chersonese Citizens, *Syll.*[3] 360, l. 7–11, which, around 300 BCE, undertook to not betray 'Chersonesus [. . .] nor the rest of the territory that the Chersonese possess or possessed (νέμονται ἢ ἐνέμοντο)': this is an allusion to a lost territory, considered 'ancestral' and one that must be recovered; see Robert (1989: 600, with n. 6). On the wars between cities in the Hellenistic period, see also Ma (2000: 349–53).
23 [Ar.] *Ath. Pol.* 42 gives the most detailed description of the ephebic service in his time. Concerning the different military techniques taught to the ephebes, in Athens and elsewhere, see Kah (2004: 57–90).
24 Marrou (1981: 164–5) (= 1956: 186–9).
25 An opinion formulated most explicitly by Gauthier and Hatzopoulos (1993: 173–6). Cf. D'Amore (2007: 147–73).
26 Gauthier and Hatzopoulos (1993: B l. 10–13): ἀκοντίζειν δὲ καὶ τοξεύειν | μελετάτωσαν οἵ | τε ἔφηβοι καὶ οἱ ὑπὸ τὰ δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, ὅταν | οἱ παῖδες ἀλείψωνται, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐὰν ἕτερόν τι ἀναγκαῖον φαίνη|ται τῶν μαθημάτων, 'the ephebes and those about the age of 22 shall practise javelin-throwing and archery every day, when the boys have anointed themselves, and similarly if any other exercise appears to be necessary (transl. Austin (2006: n° 137)). The ephebarchic law of Amphipolis, a document that has just been published, confirms that the case of Beroia is not an exception: in Amphipolis too, the ephebes were bound for two years to a daily training schedule that included archery, javelin, sling shooting, stone throwing, horse riding and javelin on horseback. See Lazaridou (2015); cf. already Hatzopoulos (2001: 136–9).
27 Gauthier and Hatzopoulos (1993: 70).
28 On the two territorial wars, waged by Miletus shortly after the Treaty of Apamea of 188 BCE, first against Heraclea by Latmos and then against Magnesia on the Meander, see Backer (2001: 61–75).
29 Cf. the decree in honour of Sotas, *I.Priene* 17, reproduced, translated and annotated by Bielman (1994: 86–90, n° 86); English translation: Burnstein (1985: n° 17).
30 Chankowski (2009: 95–113). On the training of youth in the cities belonging to the Syracusan *epikrateia* at the time of Hiero II, see Cordiano (1997: 95–130).
31 Prag (2007: 68–100).
32 On the Macedonian army: Hatzopoulos (2004); Sekunda (2013).
33 *SEG* 32.496: the decree of Thespies (around the middle of the third century BCE) honouring the Athenian Sostratus for having assured the military instruction of the *paides* and the *neaniskoi* of this city according to the federal law (*nomos*) obliging the member cities of the Boeotian Confederacy to teach archery, javelin and war manoeuvres (τοξευέμεν κὴ ἀκοντιδδέμεν κὴ τάδδεσθη συντάξις τὰς περὶ τὸν πόλεμον). See Roesch (1982: 307–54); Chankowski (2010: 158–65).
34 Wheeler (1983: 2–6); Kah (2004: 59–62).
35 Samos, *IG* xii 6 179–183.: *Hoplomachia* contests organised monthly and at the end of the year. Erythrae, *Erythrai* 52: *hoplomachia* contests. Sestos, *OGIS* 339 (*I.Sestos*

1), l. 81: end-of-year *hoplomachia* contests. Cf. Eretria, *IG* xii 9 234: the gymnasiarch Elpinicus is lauded for having financed *hoplomachia* lessons in the gymnasium: this involved ad hoc lessons rather than systematic training.

36 The text of the founding of Polythrous of Teos (*Syll.*[3] 578) provides, for the *paides* and for the ephebes, training in archery and javelin *all year round*, and *hoplomachia* training for *at least two months* (l. 25–26).

37 Hatzopoulos (2004: 91–6).

38 The citizen-soldiers that Teos systematically sent as guards of the fortress in Kyrbissos were to be armed with a shield (ἀσπίς), a lance (δορύ) and a cutlass (μάχαιρα): this therefore constitutes hoplite weaponry, albeit incomplete. See Robert (1990: 363–66) (annotation to l. 33–4 of this inscription).

39 Hatzopoulos (2004).

40 On the notion of the imaginary, see Kurke (1999: 4 n. 2), who cites a note of Alan Sheridan, translator of Loraux (1986).

41 Vidal-Naquet (1991: 125–207) (= 1986: 83–156).

42 On the validity of Vidal-Naquet's model for the Hellenistic period, Ma (1994, 2008).

43 *IG* ii² 1006 + 1031, l. 24–5 ἐξῆλθο[ν δὲ] | καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὅρ[ι]α ἐν ὅπλοις καὶ τῆς τε χώρας καὶ τῶν ὁδῶν ἔμπειροι ἐγένοντο.

44 *IG* ii² 1006 + 1031, l. 34–5: βουλ[όμ]ε[νοι] τῆι τοῦ κοσμητοῦ [προαιρέσει ἀκολούθως πράττειν ἐπὶ τῶ]ι τῆς πόλεως συμφέροντι καὶ τῶι ἑαυτῶν [εὐσχ]ήμονι καταπάλ|την λιθοβόλον ἕνα τῶν ἀρ[χαίων ἐ]κ τῶν ἰδίων ἐθερά[πευσαν καὶ τὰ ἐλλείπον]τα | προσκατασκευάσαντες ἀνενεώσαντο διὰ πλειόνων ἐτ[ῶν] τήν τε χρῆσιν τοῦ ὀργάνο[υ καὶ μάθησιν].

45 Judging by our documentation, previous to the ephebes of the 123/22, the last to have practised exercises with a catapult were the ephebes of the year 177/76 and those of the year 197/96: see the decrees *IG* ii/iii³ 1313, l. 27, 54–5 and 103, and *IG* ii/iii³ 1256, l. 35–36 and 120 (cf. the decree *IG* ii/iii³ 1322, l. 11, not precisely dated but only just prior to the decree *IG* ii/iii³ 1313). The place of military exercises in the activities of the ephebes during these years appears far more important than that of their counterparts in the year 123/22.

46 Perrin-Saminadayar (2007: 259–61). Cf. Knoepfler (2015: 59–104).

47 Here are three cases (my list is not exhaustive): a) volute-krater of the Museo Nazionale di Spina in Ferrara 2652: Beazley Archive (BA) 206934; *CVA Ferrara, Museo Nazionale* I, p. 4–5, pl. 7, 1-4; b) bell-krater of Tübingen E 104: BA 206973; *CVA Tübingen, Antikensammlung des archäologischen Instituts der Universität* 4, p. 56–7, pl. 23–4; c) pelike of the Palace of the Legion of Honor in San Francisco 1813: BA 207074; *CVA San Francisco, Palace of the Legion of Honor*, p. 37–40, pl. 18, 1a–b; 19, 1a–c; 20, 1a.

48 Matheson (2009: 373–413).

49 Lissarrague (1990: 49–51).

50 Athens: Lys., frg. VI, *Against Theozotides* 2; Aesch. 3.154; Pl., *Menex.* 248f–249a; Isoc. *Peace* 82; Arist. *Pol.* II 1268a10–12. Cf. Stroud (1971: 280–301). Thasos: Fournier and Hamon (2007: 309–81) (cf. *SEG* 57.820). In speaking of measures taken by Rhodes in 305, at the moment of the attack by Demetrius I of Macedon, Diodorus Siculus (20.84.2–3) mentions a similar institution in Rhodes.

51 *OGIS* 339 (*I.Sestos* 1) l. 78–81: συνετέλεσεν δὲ καὶ ἀγῶνα τῶι Ἑρμεῖ καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ [. . .] | τιθεὶς ἆθλα πάντων τῶν ἀθλημάτων τοῖς τε νέοις καὶ τοῖς ἐφήβοις ὅπλα ἐπίσημα ἐνδεδεμένα | ἐν ὁπλοθήκαις, ἐφ' ἃ ἐπιγράψας τοὺς νικήσαντας τὴν ἀνάθεσιν αὐτῶν παραχρῆμα ἐν τῶι γυ|μνασίωι ἐποιήσατο, transl. Austin (2006: n° 252). See the commentary of Gauthier and Hatzopoulos (1993: 114–15). Cf. Moretti (1997: 130, 136.)

52 Paul Jacobstahl, *MDAI(A)* 33 (1908: 375–79, n° 1, l. 11–15): ἐπεμηλήθη τῆς τῶν | ἐφήβων καὶ νέω[ν ἀγωγῆς καὶ] κοσμιότητος ἔπα[θλα θεὶς παι]|δείας καὶ τῆς περὶ πάντα τὰ μαθήματα ἀσκήσεως π[λείστην] | πρόνοιαν ἐποήσατο, ὅπλων τε παντοδαπῶν χορηγίαν ἐ[πειση]|νέγκατο), 'he had taken care of the education and the discipline of

the ephebes and the *neoi* by offering educational prizes, had paid great attention to the exercises on all teachings and was constantly engaged in providing various weapons.'

53 The 'weapons contests' (οἱ διὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἀγῶνες) in the Pergamene gymnasium are attested by numerous decrees in honour of Diodoros Pasparos, which date from the first half of the first century BCE (see Jones (1974, 2000): *IGR* iv 294, l. 23–24, 29, 33–34; Hugo Hepding, *MDAI(A)* 35 (1910: 409–11 n° 3, l. 15, 20, 23). However, despite a relative abundance of documentation, the workings of the Pergamene gymnasium and its hypothetical role as a place of training for future soldiers of the royal army and, after the end of the Attalids (133 BCE), armed forces of the city of Pergamon are not well known to us; cf. Wörrle (2007: 501–16).

54 See the l. 23–27 of the cited decree *supra*, n. 52, quoted and commented on by Gauthier and Hatzopoulos (1993: 115 and n. 5).

55 Gauthier and Hatzopoulos (1993: B l. 45–7, 67–71, and the editors' annotations, 99–101, 114–15).

56 Derow and Forrest (1982: l. 29–31) (cf. *SEG* 30.1073): ἐπεμελήθη δὲ καὶ τῆς τῶν ὅπλωγ [κατασκευῆς τῶν τεθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ] | δήμου τοῖς νικήσασι τοὺς γυμνικοὺς ἀγ[ῶνας καὶ ἐφρόντισεν ὅπως ἐγχαρα]|χθῶσιν εἰς αὐτὰ μῦθοι πρὸς δόξαν Ῥωμαί[ων], 'he had taken care in the preparation of shields offered by the people to the winners of gymnastic contests and had ensured that stories for the glory of the Romans were engraved on them'. Cf. Salvo (2013: 125–37).

57 *I.Milet* I 7, 203, A, l. 2–5: τιθεὶς καὶ εἰς ἀ|νάθεσιν ἆθλα ὅπλα πολεμιστήρια μὴ | ἐλάσ‹σ›ω τριῶν ἔχοντα καὶ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴνν | τοῦ ἀθλήματος κτλ., 'offering also weapons of war as prizes for consecration, which were not less than three and were inscribed with the athletic contest etc'.

58 Chaniotis (2005: 189–91).

59 *I.Délos* 1417 (= Prêtre *et al.* (2002: 199–238)), A, col I, l. 142-143: ἀσπίδας | χαλκᾶς δέκα, 'ten bronze shields'; l. 149-150: ἀσπίδας ἐπιχρύσους γραφὰς ἐχούσας ἑξήκοντα· | ἄλλας ἀσπίδας περιχρύσους Γ·ἄλλας γραφὰς ἐχούσας ἀχρυσώτους ΔΙΙΙ· | . . . ἄλλας περιχρύσους ἀσπίδας δέκα, 'sixty gold-plated shields, painted; 5 other golden shields; 13 others painted, not golden [. . .]; ten other golden shields'. Cf. Moretti (1997: *loc. cit.* 136).

60 *Syll.*[3] 527, l. 36–43: μὴ μὰν ἐγώ | ποκα τοῖς Λυττίοις | καλῶς φρονησεῖν | μήτε τέχναι μήτε μα|χανᾶι μήτε ἐν νυκτὶ | μήτε πεδ' ἀμέραν, καὶ | σπευσίω ὅ,τι κα δύναμαι | κακὸν τᾶι πόλει τᾶι τῶν Λυττίων, 'I will never be well disposed to the Lyttians in any way or manner, by night or by day, and I endeavour to do whatever harm I am able to the city of Lyttus' (transl. Austin (2006: n° 109)). On the 'young' Cretans, see the clarification of Kennell (2013a: 42–61).

61 Polyb. 4.53–54, with Chaniotis (2008: 136).

62 Wörrle (1995: 241–50).

63 *OGIS* 339 (*I.Sestos* 1) l. 86–92: ἵνα οὖν καὶ ὁ δῆμος φαί|νηται τοὺς καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς τῶν ἀνδρῶν τιμῶν καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡλικίας φιλοτί|μους γινομένους περὶ τὰ κοινὰ καὶ φιλοδοξεῖν προαιρουμένους ἀποδεχόμενος καὶ ἐν χάριτος | [ἀ]ποδόσει μὴ λείπηται, θεωροῦντές τε καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τὰς περιγινομένας τιμὰς ἐκ τοῦ δήμου | τοῖς καλοῖς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς, ζηλωταὶ μὲν τῶν καλλίστων γίνωνται, προτρέπωνται δὲ πρὸς ἀρετήν | ἐπαύξηται δὲ τὰ κοινὰ παρορμωμένων πάντων πρὸς τὸ φιλοδοξεῖν καὶ περιποιούντων ἀεί τι τῆι | πατρίδι τῶν καλῶν·

64 *OGIS* 339 (*I.Sestos* 1) l. 67–72: καθ' ἕκαστόν τε μῆνα ἐπιτελῶν τὰς πρεπούσας θυσίας ὑπὲρ τῶν νέων τοῖς | προεστηκόσιν τοῦ γυμνασίου θεοῖς φιλαγάθως καὶ μεγαλομερῶς ἐχρῆτο, τιθεὶς ἀ|κοντισμούς τε καὶ τοξείας καὶ διαδρομὰς ἐπιτελῶν, μεταδιδοὺς μὲν τοῖς νέοις τῶν | καλλιερουμένων ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἱερῶν, προτρεπόμενος δὲ διὰ τῆς τοιαύτης φιλοδοξίας | πρὸς ἄσκησιν καὶ φιλοπονίαν τοὺς νέους, ἐξ ὧν αἱ τῶν νεωτέρων ψυχαὶ πρὸς ἀνδρείαν ἀμιλλώμε|ναι καλῶς ἄγονται τοῖς ἤθεσιν πρὸς ἀρετήν, 'he treated the gods who preside over the gymnasium with generosity and magnificence, by instituting javelin and archery contests and organising races, giving to the young men a share in the

victims sacrificed by him, and encouraging through his zeal the young men to exercise and train hard, which would cause the minds of the younger men by competing for bravery to receive a suitable training in moral excellence' (transl. Austin (2006: n° 252)).

65 *IG* ii² 1006 + 1031, l. 81–3, where the passage of the decree for the ephebes, cited above n. 44, is included.

66 *IG* ii² 1006 + 1031, l. 65: ἐν τοῖς [κατ]απα[λταφεσίας ἀσ]κήμασιν ποιούμενος αὐ[τῶν πρόνοιαν τῆς πρ]ὸς ἀλλήλους φιλοτ[ιμί]ας κτλ.

67 For the *andreia* reinterpreted in another context in the imperial period, see van Nijf (2003: 263–86).

68 Ma (2004: 199–220); Breuer (1995: 53–5). On the military culture of cities in the imperial period, see Brélaz (2008: 155–96).

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4 Poleis on the brink

Violence and Greek public finances in Ps.-Aristotle's *Oikonomika II*

Kai Brodersen

Pseudo-Aristotle's *Oikonomika* II

> Whoever is going to give advice on ways to get money (*poroi*) should be acquainted with the nature and extent of the revenues (*prosodoi*) of the polis, so that if any is omitted it may be added, and if any is insufficient, it may be increased. Further, he should know all the expenditures (*dapanai*) of the polis, that if any is superfluous, it may be removed, or, if too great, may be curtailed. For men become wealthier not only by adding to what they already possess, but also by cutting down expenditures.
>
> (Arist. *Rh.* I 4.8 1359b23)

Theoretical considerations about the finances of Greek poleis are a rarity in ancient thinking,[1] and while references like the quotation from Aristotle above show some basic insight into the problems of public revenues and expenditures,[2] a book *peri oikonomias* which Diogenes Laertius (5,22) lists among Aristotle's works has not survived. To be sure, Aristotle himself had suggested research on this topic:

> a collection ought to be made of the scattered accounts on methods through which some have succeeded in making money (*chrēmatizesthai*).
>
> (Arist. *Pol*. I 1259a3)

Indeed, the school of Aristotle considered it to be useful to collect evidence which could be used as evidence for theoretical considerations. The best-known example for such a collection is the one of ancient constitutions made by pupils of Aristotle,[3] because one of these texts, the *Athenaion politeia*, was rediscovered at the end of the nineteenth century on a papyrus from Egypt.[4]

No fewer than three books on *Oikonomika*, two in Greek and a third in several medieval Latin translations, are transmitted in the Aristotelian corpus. However, none of them is Aristotle's own work, and all three differ substantially between them and do not form a unit: the first and the third book deal mainly with the private financial management and the relationship between the head of a household and his wife, while only the second book addresses public finances.[5]

This book, *Oikonomika II*, has been largely neglected in historical research. One of the founders of classical studies, Barthold Georg Niebuhr, condemned it

as the work of 'a crude and uneducated writer';[6] this appears to have prevented further serious study in the nineteenth century.[7] At the beginning of the twentieth century a few special investigations, usually in dissertations, were begun, mainly resulting from the discovery of an inscription.[8] In 1903, the Faculty of Arts of the University of Munich advertised a prize as follows:

> The Pseudo-Aristotelian *Economics* are to be interpreted and the economic theory and economic policies contained therein are to be discussed systematically and historically.

The winner was the 1906 Dr. phil. dissertation of Kurt Riezler;[9] another result of this competition was the work of Paul Schneider 1907.[10] The last detailed study for several generations was the investigation by Bernhard Abraham van Groningen, a Dr. phil. dissertation published in 1933;[11] afterwards only a few more specialized studies were published,[12] and a decade ago two new translations appeared.[13] Still, one of the most influential historians of the twentieth century, Moses I. Finley, complained about the 'excruciating' or 'crashing banality' of the 'painfully naïve' author of the *Oikonomika II*,[14] whom he simply called an 'idiot'.[15]

The two parts of the *Oikonomika II*

The first part of *Oikonomika II* (I 1–7) provides a brief overview of four ancient economic systems: that of the Persian king, of the satrap, of the polis, and of the individual. These theoretical considerations culminate in the maxim:

> One aspect is common to all forms of economy and therefore must not be treated beside the point, most of all that spending (*analomata*) is not greater than revenue (*prosodoi*). (I 6)

The second, much larger part (II 1–41) then provides a collection of examples for a successful increase of public revenues, which often have the character of tricks. For every example given in chapter II 1 to 36, the name of the trickster and the place are given, followed by a description of the trick itself. Repeatedly more than one measure is attributed to a single trickster, so the 36 chapters report 72 tricks altogether. The last five chapters, 37–41, present (without repeating the details on the tricksters) five further tricks.[16] So in total the second part of *Oikonomika II* presents 77 tricks to increase public revenues.

Both the concepts and the contents of the two parts of *Oikonomika II* show that they do not form a coherent unit. For instance, the tribute raised by the Persian King is referred to as *tage* in the first part (I 3), but as *phoros* in the second (II 13a, 25b, 33a, 35); a levy taken from all citizens to finance a specific task is called *enkyklia* in the first part (I 5), while the second uses *eisphora* or related verbs (II 3d, 5, 13a, 13b, 20b, 20d, 20e, 25b, 29a, 29b, 30a, 33c). It is also striking that of the four types of economies referred to in the first part – that of the Persian king, the satrap, the polis, and the individual – the second part largely

ignores three and just discusses the polis, while presenting several examples for the economies of tyrants, which is not mentioned in the first part.

The examples in *Oikonomika II*

The link between the two parts of *Oikonomika II* is created by the following sentence:

> What some in earlier times have done for the way towards money (*eis poros chrēmaton*) or have administered with tricks (*technikos*),[17] of that we have taken on what seemed to be worth mentioning, and collected it. This research (*historia*) seemed to us not un-useful, for it is capable from time to time to be applied by others to the business they themselves have in hand. (I 8)

So the examples which follow this sentence are taken from 'earlier' times and introduced, like Herodotus' *historiai*, as a result of research (*historia*) which could be useful for present and future enterprises. The goal is the 'way towards money' – it seems appropriate to translate *poros* as such, as two related concepts appear again and again in the text, *euporos* (II 7, 12, 13a, 16b, 20g, 22, 23b, 23c, 26, 30a, 31) and *aporos* (II 3c, 18, 15a, 16a, 20c, 20d, 20g, 23a, 23b, 24a) separates. Literally *eu-poros* implies 'having a good way' – an *euporos* has a good way towards money and is (or becomes and remains) wealthy; *a–poros* is the opposite, 'having no way', and thus no wealth. Both can also be true for public finances – and it is the intention of the author to show, on the basis of useful research gained through examples from earlier times, the way from *aporos* to *euporos*.

Modern scholars have tried to locate each of the 77 examples historically and thus study snippets of information on the 'earlier times' mentioned in the *Oikonomika II*, but otherwise lost.[18] In focusing on the individual cases, and in view of the low esteem of the author, the question of the date of the collection as a whole was considered to be hardly relevant. It is often assumed, without further justification, that the book postdates the latest example by a few generations. Most recently, Makis Aperghis dated the whole book 'probably to c. 275 B.C., when it seems to be describing the administration of the Seleucid empire under Antiochus I' and went on to say that the second part of the book 'had probably been compiled several years earlier and added on to the first either when this was written or possibly even later'.[19] However, the second part of the book never mentions Syria or Egypt as parts of a Hellenistic state or within the realms of a Seleucid or Ptolemaic king, but only as part of the Persian or of Alexander's Empire (see below). Taking the examples of the collection as a whole and wondering for which time they would have been collected (or invented?) may lead us to a different conclusion about the world of these case studies. So which world do we meet in the *Oikonomika II*?

The world of the examples in the *Oikonomika II*

The focus of the collection is on the one hand the late Persian empire ruled by the Great King (the 'king of kings', I 2–3, II 13a, 13b, 14d) and his dependent satraps

or by Alexander the Great (336–323 BCE); the latter, who defeated the last Persian king in 332, is repeatedly (and without clear distinction) referred to as the successor of the Great King who rules the empire, like his predecessor, relying on satraps (II 31–4 and 38). Their satrapies are connected to the centre of the empire through the Persian 'Royal Road' (II 14b, 38), which was already admired by Herodotus (5.52f.). The satraps owe the Great King a tribute, which is collected for them by procurers (*epimelētai*, II 28, 35); in Egypt they can also take recourse to the division into 'districts' (*nomoi*, II 33b, 35) under 'district administrators' (*nomarchoi*, II 25b, 32, 33a, 35). Immediately below the satraps there is the 'sub-administrator', *hyparchos*, II 14a). Failure to pay tribute to the Great King will entail military measures (II 13). Occasionally satraps try to rise against the supremacy of the Great King or of Alexander the Great, such as Mausolus in Caria (II 13) or Datames in Cappadocia (II 24), albeit without lasting success. Also – as it were on a lower level of the hierarchy – uprisings against satraps themselves can occur, for instance by the district administrators (*nomarchoi*; see above) in Egypt (II 32). The Great King's and Alexander's Empire consist not only of Persia, but also of large parts of Asia Minor and (as we know from other sources: from 525 to 404 BCE and again from 343 BCE) Babylon (II 34), Syria (II 32) and Egypt (II 25, 32, 33). We hear of the district Athribes, located at the tip of the Nile delta (II 35), and of the westernmost branch of the Nile, Kanobos, of the newly founded Alexandria and of the island of Pharos (II 33). These statements about the Persian king and Alexander the Great are undoubtedly of particular interest for readers at a time when neither the Great King nor Alexander needed an explanation and when the structural parallel between both empires was still familiar enough to the readership.

The focus of the collection is on the other hand – and particularly – the world of Greek polis. We hear of Athens in Attica (II 4, 5, 22, 23, 25, 26, 36) with the mines in Laurium (II 36), of Sparta (Sparta, II 9) and of Corinth (II 1) on the Peloponnese. The islands of Corcyra (Corfu, II 23) to the west and Euboea with the town Oreus (II 30) to the east of the Greek mainland are also mentioned, as are the poleis Olynthus (II 23a, 35), Poteidaea (II 5) and Mende (II 21) on the Chalcidike in the north-western Aegean, which increasingly falls under the influence of Macedonia in the fourth century (II 22, 31). Of the islands in the Aegean the text mentions Naxus (II 2), Chius (II 12), Lesbus with the town Antissa (II 6), Samos (II 9, 23), and Rhodes (II 15, 28, 29). On the western mainland of Asia Minor Assus and Atarneus are referred to indirectly as being controlled by Hermias, and the coastal poleis Phocaea (II 15), Clazomenae (II 16) and Ephesus (II 19) as well as Mylasa in the hinterland of Caria are also mentioned (II 13). In the region of the Straits between the Aegean and the Black Sea (II 3, 10) seven poleis are named: Abydus (II 8), Lampsacus (II 29a), Cyzicus (II 11) and Chalcedon (II 10) on the Anatolian side, Perinthus (II 27), Sely(m)bria (II 17) and Byzantium (II 3) on the Thracian side; Thrace here refers to the extended realm of Cotys (II 27). On the shore of the Black Sea itself we hear about Heraclea Pontica (II 8) and Amisus (II 24) in the south and about the tyrant on the Bosphorus (the Straits of Kerch) in the north (II 8). In the Far West, only Syracuse, Rhegium and Tyrrhenia (Etruria) are mentioned (II 20).

So the world for which these examples need hardly any explanation, and are thus potentially 'useful', is mainly the eastern Mediterranean – a world that had come under a single rule under Alexander the Great. The disintegration of this world is not referred to, however.

The time of the examples in the *Oikonomika II*

As we have pointed out above, ancient historians have tried to date the events referred to in the examples, but they have not always succeeded, because some information on certain poleis – Byzantium (II 3), Lampsacus, Heraclea, Samos, Chalcedon, Cyzicus and Chius (II 7–12), Clazomenae, Sely(m)bria, and Abydus (II 1618) – or on specific rulers – Sosipolis (II 6), Aristotle of Rhodes (II 15), Euaeses (II 32), Antimenes, Ophellas, Pythocles (II 34–6), and Stabelbius (II 40) – is only known from the *Oikonomika II* and cannot be dated due to the lack of parallel sources. Also, there is no strict chronological order of the examples in the book, as can be seen from the following survey and from the order of the examples given for Timotheus (II 23); hence, no information on dates can be deduced even if a preceding or following example can be dated.

Based on parallel evidence, dates can be given for the following cases:[20] the later seventh century BCE is the time of the tyrant Cypselus of Korinthos (II 1) and over a century later we can date the tyrants Lygdamis of Naxos and Hippias of Athens (II 2, 4), who ruled over Athens together with his brother Hipparchus from 527 to the assassination by the 'tyrannicides' in 514. The (mostly) democratic Athens possessed a military colony in Poteidaia, inhabited by citizens, from 429 to 405 and from 362 to 351 (II 5). The late fifth and early fourth century sees Dionysius I (II 20) who ruled over Syracuse in Sicily from 405 to 367; in 386 he captured Rhegium (II 20g) and in 384 he undertook a campaign against Tyrrhenia (Etruria; II 20i). The Athenian politicians and military leaders Callistratus (ca. 400–355) and Timotheus (ca. 400–354) can be dated to the same time (II 22–3). Their careers are known from other sources are well, but for the former any activities in Macedonia are not otherwise attested (they belong probably to his last years), while for the latter, the actions referred to can be dated more accurately: the conquest of Cercyra (II 23b) belongs to the year 375, that of Samos (II 23a) to the year 365 and that of Olynthus (II 23c) soon after. As a ruler of Thrace Cotys I appears (II 27), king of Odrysians from 383 to 360. His brother-in-law, the military expert Iphicrates of Athens (II 26), worked at his court until 374 and again in the late 360s. At that time Cotys is supported by his son-in-law, the mercenary leader Charidemus of Oreus (II 30), and – despite the opposition of Artabazus, the Persian satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia (see II 30a) – becomes the ruler of all Thrace.

Mausolus of Caria (II 13), a native of the city of Mylasa (II 13b), and satrap of the Persian Great King in Caria from 377 until his death in 352, is – like Datames (384–62), the satrap of Cappadocia (II 24) – a participant in the so-called 'great revolt of the satraps' against the Persian king Artaxerxes II (404–359). Mausolus appears here not as a satrap, but as a tyrant of Caria and the ruler not only of

this area, but also of Lycia to the east of it, which he had conquered after that uprising (II 14d). The same time also saw the campaign of the Egyptian king Taos (Teos, Tachos; 362–360), supported by the mercenary leader Chabrias of Athens, against the Persian Empire (II 25, 37; the measure reported in II 25a is confirmed by the inscription mentioned above). Artabazus, the satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia who was supported by the mercenary leaders Mentor and Memnon of Rhodes, two brothers (II 28–9), is known as a participant in a 'small' revolt waged around 353 against Artaxerxes III (359–338). The fiefdom on the Hellespont, part of which was Lampsacus (II 29), remained in their possession after they had changed sides and were pardoned by the Great King. On behalf of the Great King Artaxerxes III, who reconquered Egypt in 343 and thus became a threat for Hermias (the tyrant of Atarneus and Assus in north-western Asia Minor), Mentor imprisons Hermias two years later (II 28; Hermias' niece, incidentally, was to become Aristotle's wife).

Further chronological clues arise from two events which are attested elsewhere before and after the ones mentioned in the *Oikonomika II*: the destruction of Olynthus in 348 is a *terminus ante quem* for what it said about the citizens of Mende (II 21) and about the Athenian mercenary leader Timotheus (II 23; see above), while the destruction of the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus after the arson of Herostratus (of proverbial 'Herostratean fame') in 356 is a *terminus post quem* for what is said about Ephesus (II 19). Among the men around Alexander the Great an otherwise unattested satrap of Caria, a 'certain' Philoxenus (II 31), as well as Cleomenes, appears (II 33); the latter is known from other sources as well. The most recent datable event is the return of the citizens of Samos to their home island as ordered by Alexander the Great in 324 BCE (II 9).[21]

So the world, for which the examples in the *Oikonomika II* can be useful, is focused on the fourth century BCE, the time of Aristotle and Alexander the Great. None of the examples can be securely dated to the time after the deaths of Alexander in 323 and Aristotle in 322. [22] The compilation may thus well have been made during Aristotle's lifetime, and allows us an insight into the Greek world at the brink of the Hellenistic Era.

The world of the Greek polis

If we accept such a date for the 'useful research' as present in the collection of the examples in *Oikonomika II* as a whole, we can use it to illuminate the political and, indeed, financial challenges which the eastern Mediterranean world faced on the brink of the Hellenistic era.

The collection has an especially lively interest in the Greek polis, perceived as a community of citizens (II 3, 7–12, 16–19). The core unit of citizenship is the household (*oikos*: II 32) with the family (II 4a); orphans can only become householders of their own when they come of age (II 20f). The citizens are organized in *phylai* ('tribes' of common descent; II 4c) and *demoi* ('neighbourhoods': II 5), but also in family groups and religious associations (II 3a). Conflicts between the citizens of the polis are usually resolved through legal

processes for which – in order to prevent abuse of the courts – a deposit has to be paid by the plaintiff which remains with the court (the successful applicant can expect to be reimbursed by the defendant); in extrajudicial arbitrations the fine imposed remains at least partially with the arbitrator (II 15b). As a political community, the citizens gather in meetings (II 13b, 20a, 20b, 20c, 20g, 23b, 24a). In addition to the citizens, metics (resident foreigners) without civil rights live in the city who – like other foreigners (II 20g) – can trade (II 10) and lend money (II 18), but cannot acquire real estate property (II 3d); there is also a multitude of slaves (II 21b).

In the temples of the Greek world (II 19b, 20a) the Olympian gods – Zeus (II 1), Athena (II 4d), and Artemis (II 19b) – are revered, while Demeter (II 20a) may appear in a dream; in Tyrrhenia (Etruria) there is a temple of the sea goddess Leucothea (II 20i). Vows (II 2) and specially made dedications are presented to the deities (II 1, 19, 20i, 24a, 41), who also receive animal sacrifices (II 20e) or simple libations (II 41). Last but not least, religious festivals are celebrated at great expense like the Dionysia for Dionysus (II 6, 31), and choirs, often accompanied by an *aulos*-player (II 41), are funded to perform at the festivals (II 4c, 31).

The staple diet consists of cereals (II 8) and flour (II 7), especially barley and wheat (II 4d), olive oil (II 7, 8, 16c) and wine (II 7, 8), as well as meat (II 20c) like sheep, pigs and calves (II 14). Grain is imported from the Black Sea in large quantities (II 3c, 10); this attributes strategic importance to the poleis and satrapies (see above) at the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmara and the Bosphorus. However, supply can be precarious (see below). Once the goods are produced (II 33e), they are traded by merchants (*emporoi*: II 3c, 8, 23a, 33e) in trading places (*emporia*: I 4, 5; II 16a, 26, 33c), then brought by retailers (*agoraioi*: II 23a) to the consumers (II 3, 8; for mercenaries see below).

Merchants and retailers make up only a part of the trade in the polis. We also hear of specialized market spaces for the sale of fish and salt, but also of spaces used by magicians, soothsayers, charm-sellers ‘and the like’ and not least by moneychangers who on their bank (*trapeza*) exchange foreign currency with the local one (II 3a). As a rule, the ‘face value’ of the coin corresponds to the actual metal value, determined by weight and fineness of the coin (II 24a); a large difference between the nominal and the actual value is considered as a ‘trick’ (II 4b, 16b, 20c, 20h, 23a).

While all this is entirely typical for the classical Greek polis, of course, the *Oikonomika II* frequently refers to the violence which characterizes the contemporary world. Some conflicts escalate into civil war between individual factions (II 11, 15a, 18), usually the rich aristocrats against the common people (*demos*: II 11). The defeated faction may see its members executed (II 11) or exiled (II 2, 9, 12), thereby losing all property (II 2, 11, 18); the exiles will, of course, seek to return (II 9). Repeatedly a civil war leads to the establishment of a tyrant who rules against the will of the citizens (II 1, 2, 4, 6, 8, 20, cf. 13a); this is vividly described (without parallels in other sources) for the rise of Aristotle of Rhodes:

> Aristotle of Rhodes, when governor (*archon*) of Phocaea, found himself in lack (*aporia*) of money. Noticing that there were at Phocaea two opposing groups (*staseis*), he held a secret conference with one of them, at which he declared that the other side was offering him money if he would favour their pretensions; that he, however, preferred to receive from those now before him, and to entrust to them the administration of the city. On hearing this, they immediately contributed (*porizō*) the money he asked, and gave it him. He then told the other side what he had received from them; and they in turn promised him at least an equal amount. Having thus taken the money of both sides, he effected a reconciliation between them. He also observed that there were many law-suits pending between the citizens, and that they had grave and long-standing plaints (*adikiai*) against one another which had arisen in course of war (*dia polemou*). He therefore appointed a tribunal, and made proclamation that all who failed to appear before it within a stated period should lose the right to a legal decision of their outstanding claims. Then, by taking into his own hands the court-fees (see above) for a number of suits, and also those appeal-cases which involved penalties, and receiving (through others) money from both sides, he obtained altogether a very considerable sum. (II 15a–b)

We note, incidentally, that internal conflict is described as a consequence of external war. In a dispute between citizens of one polis with the citizens of another, one can try a solution by taking a compatriot of the accused as a hostage, whose release requires a satisfactory solution to the conflict (II 10). Failing that, war is likely.

Indeed, the world of the *Oikonomika II* is not peaceful: people are scared, they are hiding weapons (II 30b), money, and valuables (II 20g, 28, 30a). Wealth is stored under the protection of the gods as offerings in temples and shrines (see above), but can be taken away from there by unscrupulous rulers (II 20a, 20i, 24, 41). Slaves, who after all also belong to the valuable properties of their masters, may escape. In this context, our text mentions (incidentally the first time for classical antiquity) a kind of ‘public property insurance’:

> He (Antimenes of Rhodes) invited the owners of any slaves in the camp to register them at whatever value they desired, undertaking at the same time to pay him 8 drachmae a year. If the slave ran away, the owner was to recover the registered value. Many slaves were thus registered, and a large sum of money was paid (in premiums). And when a slave ran away, Antimenes instructed the satrap of the province where the camp lay either to recover the man or to pay his master his value. (II 34b)

The revenues of the Greek polis

The examples collected in *Oikonomika II* relate a host of ‘tricks’ used to increase public revenue. However, their very uniqueness makes them less relevant for the

present study than the less extraordinary 'ways to money' which may provide the background for such a trick. In the classical world of the polis, public income would mainly rely on duties and taxes on produce or trade, on liturgies and levies, and on the sale of municipal property.

Duties and taxes on produce or trade

> While Cleomenes of Alexandria was satrap (of Alexander the Great) in Egypt, at a time when there was a moderate scarcity in the land, but a grievous famine elsewhere, he forbade the export of grain. When the district administrators (*nomarchoi*; see above) explained that if there were no export of grain they would be unable to pay in their taxes (*phoroi*), he allowed the export, but laid a heavy duty (*telos*) on the grain. By this means he obtained a large amount of duty from a small amount of export, and at the same time deprived the officials of their excuse. (II 33a)

As this example (as well as II 34a) shows, government revenues from customs duties on imports and exports of goods can be expected on a regular basis (and may be increased by a trick). The same applies to the passage through customs gates and for harbour duties (for these see below on II 14c and 22).

> The right of changing money they (the citizens of Byzantium) sold to a single bank (*trapeza*; see above), whose proprietor was given a monopoly of the sale and purchase of coin, protected under penalty of confiscation. (II 3a2)
>
> Condalus, who was a *hyparchos* (see above) of Mausolus, whenever on his progress through the country he was presented with a sheep, a pig, or a calf, had a record made of the donor's name and of the date. He then bade the man take the animal home and keep it until he should again pass that way. After what he considered a sufficient interval, he would demand the animal together with such profit duty (*epikarpia*) as he reckoned it had produced. Of all trees, too, which projected over the Royal Road, or fell thereon, he leased the collection of the profit duty (*epikarpia*). (II 14a–b)

A direct tax could also be levied on income from agriculture and commercial businesses; only one example (II 25a; see below) relates to a poll tax and a tax on housing and real estate (only the latter is also used elsewhere for a trick: II 21a). The public authorities leased the collection of revenue from duties, business taxes, and income taxes to the highest bidder, who had to provide the expected revenue in advance and then collect it himself (like the tax in example II 14b, quoted above). If this procedure limited the number of potential lease-holders (for instance by the requirement of providing guarantors), this could lead to a 'cartel' of bidders and thus entail a lower income for the polis from the lease than would otherwise be possible (II 22).

Replacement of government revenues through liturgies and allocations

Specific tasks for the community – the equipment of a warship or the presidency over a *phylē* (see above) or acting as *chorēgos* (still the modern Greek word for 'sponsor') at a religious festival (cf. II 31 – were taken over by wealthy citizens from their private funds in a so-called liturgy (*leitourgia*)):

> Those who were expecting to equip a trireme or preside over a *phylē* or sponsor a choir or undertake the expense (*dapanē*) of some other public service of the kind, he (Hippias of Athens) allowed, if they chose, to commute the liturgy for a moderate sum, and to be enrolled on the list of those who had performed it. (II 4c)

The 'trick' in this example is not the liturgy, but the direct payment in lieu of it as a contribution to raising the polis revenue. Other specific tasks have been mostly financed by the application of a levy to contribute to all citizens alike and to have performance (*eisphora* and derivatives: II 3d, 5, 13a, 13b, 20b, 20d, 20e, 25b, 29a, 29b, 30a, 33c; see above).

Extra revenues through the sale of municipal property

> The citizens of Byzantium, being in need of money (*chrēmata*), sold such dedicated lands as were in public ownership; those under crops, for a term of years, and those uncultivated, in perpetuity. In a similar manner they sold lands appropriated to religious celebrations or ancestral cults, not excepting those that were on private estates; for the owners of the surrounding land were ready to give a high price for them. To the dispossessed celebrants (they assigned) such other public lands surrounding the gymnasium, the agora, or the harbour, as was in public ownership. Moreover, they claimed as public property all open spaces where anything was sold, together with the sea-fisheries, the places for traffic in salt, and for the trade of magicians, soothsayers, charm-sellers, and the like; exacting from all these one-third of their gains. (II 3)

The polis owned not only land, but also institutions like an *agora* (market and meeting place) and a *gymnasium* (sports and education centre) as well as a harbour (see II 21a). Some poleis also had at least for some time possessions overseas (II 5 Athens in Poteideia; II 27 Perinthos), and Athens in particular, owned the mines in Laurium which provided special revenue:

> Pythocles of Athens recommended to the Athenians that the polis should take over from private citizens the lead obtained from the mines of Laurium at the price of two drachmae (per unit) that they were asking, and should itself sell it at the fixed price of six drachmae. (II 36)

Incidentally, the mines in Laurium are not familiar to the readership of *Oikonomika II* as silver mines (which famously partially funded the Persian

Wars in the fifth century); rather, an (otherwise unknown) Pythocles is credited with a trick referring to the *lead* which is a by-product or remainder of silver mining.

War booty

> After the capture of Rhegium, he (Dionysius of Syracuse) summoned a meeting of the citizens, and told them why he had a right to sell them as slaves. If, however, they would pay him the expenses (*anelomena*) of the war and three *minae* a head besides, he would release them. The citizens of Rhegium brought forth all their hoards; the poor borrowed from the wealthier and from the foreigners resident in the city; and so the demanded amount was paid. But though he received this money from them, none the less he sold them all for slaves, having succeeded (by his trick) in bringing to light the hoarded goods which they had previously concealed. [. . .] He also made a raid on Tyrrhenia (Etruria) with 100 ships, and took from the temple of Leucothea a large amount of gold and silver as well as works of art. But being aware that also his sailors had taken much plunder, he made proclamation that each should bring him, under pain of death, half of what he had; they might keep the remainder of their takings. On the understanding that if they brought in half their plunder they would retain the rest in security, they obeyed. But when Dionysius had the treasure into his hands, he commanded them to bring him the other half as well. (II 20g and 20i)

As this example (as well as II 23a on Timotheus of Athens) shows that an increase of the polis revenue was possible not least by selling prisoners of war and booty, if wars were waged successfully. Indeed, wars became most important expenditure of a polis, which will be addressed now.

The expenditures of the Greek polis

The aim of the example in the Collection *Oikonomika II* is to collect 'tricks' for an extraordinary increase of public revenue. Neither non-extraordinary revenues nor the – usually very low – expenditures of a polis are central to the collection. The latter are mainly discussed, when a reason for an extraordinary increase in revenue is given.

Fulfilment of tribute demands

The only regular obligation of a polis appears as the demand for tribute:

> Mausolus, the tyrant of Caria, received from the Great King a demand for tribute. Therefore he summoned the wealthiest men in the land, and told them that the Great King was asking for the tribute, and he had not the means of paying it. Men whom he had previously suborned at once came forward and declared what each was ready to contribute. With this example before

> them, men who were wealthier than these, partly in shame and partly in alarm, promised and brought together (*eispherein*) much larger sums than the others. Being again in lack of money (*chrēmata*), Mausolus summoned a public meeting of the people of Mylasa and told them that the King of Persia was preparing to attack him; and that Mylasa his capital city was unfortified. He therefore bade the citizens contribute each as liberally as he could, saying that what they now brought together (*eispherein*) would afford security to the rest of their possessions. By these means he obtained large contributions (*eisphorai*). But though he kept the money, he declared that heaven, for the present, forbade the building of the walls. (II 13a–b)

It is noteworthy that Mausolus is not referred to as a satrap of the Persian king, but as a 'tyrant' of Caria, from whom the Persians demand a tribute and are willing, if necessary, to enforce this request by using violence. Was the readership of the *Oikonomika II* – especially after the 'liberation' of the Greek cities by Alexander the Great – more interested in 'tricks' of a polis tyrant than of a satrap of the Persian king?

Famine relief

As a cause for special expenditures of a polis the *Oikonomika II* repeatedly refers to food shortages or famine (see also II 16, II 17 and II 33a1, quoted above): [23]

> During a shortage of food (*sitodeia*) and money (*aporia*), they (the citizens of Byzantium) called home all vessels that were trading in the Pontus (and forced them into the harbour of their polis). When the merchants protested, they were at length allowed to trade on payment on payment of a levy (*tokos*) of 10%, and those who purchased anything had also to pay 10% on top of the price of their purchase. (II 3c)

Expenses of civil war

From several examples it is clear that civil wars required significant expenditures, either as the result of the vow made by a tyrant should he emerge as a ruler (as did Cypselus in II 1), or because the agricultural land remained untilled during the uprising (as in Abydus II 1) or as a consequence of the return of exiled citizens:

> When the Samians entreated the Lacedaemonians for money to enable them to return to their country, the Lacedaemonians passed a resolution that they and their servants and their animals should go without food for one day; and that the expense each one thus saved should be given to the Samians. (II 9)

Expenses of foreign wars: Arms and mercenaries

However, the most frequently cited reason for polis expenditures as described in the *Oikonomika II* is warfare. We hear of attacks, against which defence is

tried (II 7, 13b, 30a), and of wars which were actively waged (II 5, 8, 21b, 23a, 25 a). Expenses are caused firstly by providing arms, including the construction of new warships:

> Intending to build a fleet of triremes, he (Dionysius of Syracuse) knew that he should require funds for the purpose. He therefore called an assembly and declared that a certain city was offered to him by traitors, and he needed money to pay them. The citizens therefore must contribute two *stateres* apiece. The money was paid; but after two or three days, Dionysius, pretending that the plot had failed, thanked the citizens and returned to each his contribution. In this way he won the confidence of the citizens; so that when he again asked for money, they contributed in the expectation that they would receive it back. But this time he kept it for building the fleet. (II 20b)

The most frequently cited and obviously most costly expenditure was the cost of mercenaries under the command of a mercenary leader (who in one case even seeks to hide the death of one of his soldiers so as to continue to receive payment for him):

> When one of his soldiers died, he (Condalus, a *hyparchos* – see above – of Mausolus) charged a drachma for the right of passing the body through the gates. This was not only a source of revenue, but a check on the (mercenary) leaders, who were thus prevented from falsifying the date of the man's death.[24] (II 14c)

A lack of funds entails extraordinarily high interest rates:

> When they (citizens of Clazomenae) owed their mercenaries 20 talents of wages and were unable to find it, they gave the mercenary leaders an interest (*tokos*) of 4 talents per year (20%). But failing to reduce the capital debt, and committed to this fruitless drain on their revenue, they struck an iron coinage of 20 talents, bearing the face value of the silver. This they distributed proportionately among the wealthiest citizens, and received from them silver to the same amount. Through this expedient, the private citizens possessed a currency that was good for their daily needs, and the polis was relieved of its debt. Next, they proceeded to pay interest out of revenue to those who had advanced the silver; and little by little distributed repayment among them, recalling at the same time the currency of iron. (II 16c)

Potentially lucrative hirings of mercenaries also attracted laggards, which could lead to additional expenditure for the polis:

> At the siege of Samos (which was held by the Persians with the support of the oligarchs), he (Timotheus of Athens) sold the crops and other country property to the besieged Samians themselves, and thus obtained plenty of money

> to pay his men. But finding the camp was short of provisions owing to the arrival of laggards (*aphiknoumenoi*), he forbade the sale of milled corn, or of any measure less than a medimnos, and liquid wares in anything smaller than a metretes. Accordingly the ταξίαρχοι and λοχαγοί bought supplies wholesale and issued them to their men; the laggards, however, had to bring their own provisions, and sold any surplus on their departure. In this way the needs of the soldiers were satisfactorily met. (II 23c)

The fact that some mercenary leaders worked on their own account and were not loyal to the soldiers who had joined them could be used for a 'trick' to get rid of some mercenaries (which apparently could not be achieved without a trick):

> Stabelbius, (military leader) of the Mysians, lacking pay to give to his soldiers, summoned a meeting of the leaders of the mercenaries, and declared that he no longer needed the private soldiers, but only them. Should he require troops, he would entrust a sum of money to each of the leaders and send him to collect soldiers as mercenaries; but meanwhile he preferred to give the officers the pay he would otherwise have to give the soldiers. Accordingly, he asked them to dismiss the soldiers who were on their respective muster-roll. The leaders, sensing a source of gaining money (*chrēmatismos*) for themselves, dismissed their soldiers, as they had been asked. Shortly afterwards, Stabelbius called them together and informed them that an *aulos*-player without his choir and a leader without his soldiers were alike useless; so he ordered them to leave the country. (II 40)

The mercenaries expected, in addition to their wages, also the provision of meals (II 8, 14c, 23b, 24a, 29c, 29d, 39, 40). The mercenary leader was responsible for the distribution of wages and sustenance to his men and could (like Timotheos II 23a–c, mentioned above) become a factor of power himself. So it is said about the mercenary leader Chabrias of Athens who was in the service of the Egyptian king Taos (Teos, Tachos; see above):

> Chabrias of Athens, when Taos, king of Egypt, needed funds for an expedition he was making, advised him to inform the priests that to save expense it was necessary to suppress some of the temples together with the majority of the attendant priests. On hearing this, each priesthood, being anxious to retain their own temple, offered him money from their possessions. When the king had thus received money from them all, Chabrias ordered him to tell the priests to spend on the temple-service and on their own maintenance one tenth of what they formerly spent, and lend him the remainder until he had made peace with the Great King. Moreover, each inhabitant was to contribute a stated proportion of his household and per person (as a poll tax); and when grain was sold, buyer and seller were each to contribute, apart from the price, one obolos per artabe; while a tax of one tenth was to be imposed on profits arising from ships and workshops and other sources of gain. [. . .]

> Chabrias had levied crews for 120 ships to serve King Taos. Finding that Taos needed only 60 ships, he gave the crews of the superfluous 60 a choice between providing those who were to serve with two months' rations, and themselves taking their place. Desiring to remain at their business, they gave what he demanded. (II 25a–b and 37)

Another mercenary leader of Athens, Iphicrates, also tried to raise funds for mercenaries to support the Thracian king Cotys (cf. above on II 27):

> Iphicrates of Athens provided Cotys with money for soldiers which he had collected in the following manner. He ordered him to order each of his subjects to sow for him a piece of land bearing 4 1/2 *medimnoi*. A large quantity of grain was thus gathered, from the price of which, when brought to the trading places (*emporia*) on the coast, the king obtained as much money as he wanted. (II 26)

Two brothers from Rhodes, Mentor and Memnon, acted similarly when they showed ways of financing mercenaries to their client Artabazus (see above) or to the polis they were responsible for:

> Mentor of Rhodes, after taking Hermias prisoner and seizing his fortresses, left in their various districts the officials appointed by Hermias. In this way he restored their confidence, so that they all took again to themselves the property they had hidden or had sent secretly out of the country. Then Mentor arrested them and stripped them of all they had. (II 28)
>
> Memnon of Rhodes, on making himself master of Lampsacus, found he was in need of money (*chrēmata*). He therefore assessed upon the wealthiest inhabitants a quantity of silver, telling them that they should recover it from the other citizens. But when the other citizens made their contributions (*eisphorai*), Memnon said they must lend him this money also, fixing a certain date for its repayment. Again being in need of money (*chrēmata*), he asked for a contribution (*eisphora*), to be recovered, as he said, from the revenues. The citizens complied, thinking that they would speedily reimburse themselves. But when the revenue payments came in, he declared that he must have these also, and would repay the lenders subsequently with interest (*tokos*). His mercenary soldiers he requested to forgo six days' pay and sustenance each year on the plea that on those days they were neither on garrison duty nor on the march nor did they incur any expense; he was referring to the 'leap days' (*exhairesimos*). Being accustomed previously to issue his men's rations of corn on the second day of the month, in the first month he postponed the distribution for three days, and in the second month for five, proceeding in this way until at length it took place on the last day of the month. (II 29a–d)

Eventually we learn how the opponents of Artabazus (the satrap who was supported by the Rhodian brothers), listened to the advice of a mercenary leader on how to raise money for the war:

> Charidemus of Oreus, being in occupation of certain fortress-towns in Aeolis, and threatened with an attack by Artabazus, was in need of money (*chrēmata*) to pay his troops. After their first contributions (*eisphorai*), the inhabitants declared they had no more to give. Charidemus then issued a proclamation to the town he deemed wealthiest, ordering the inhabitants send away to another fortress all the coin and valuables they possessed, under convoy which he would provide. He himself openly set the example with his own goods, and prevailed on them to comply. But when he had conducted them a little way out of the polis, he made an inventory of their goods, took all he wanted, and led them home again. (II 30)

Probably the most problematic issue for a polis arose when it could no longer pay the mercenaries' wages (II 8, 10, 11, 16b, 23c, 24a, 40a). Without an increase in the government revenues it had to reckon with a change of sides by these mercenary leaders and their soldiers (as Mentor and Memnon had actually done; see above). A dangerous situation of this kind required a particularly clever trick:

> During the campaign of Corcyra he (Timotheus of Athens) suffered a lack of funds (*aporia*). His men demanded their pay, refused to obey his orders, and declared they would desert to the enemy. He summoned a meeting and told them that the stormy weather was delaying the arrival of the silver he expected; meanwhile, as he had on hand such abundance (*euporia*), he would charge them nothing for the three months' ration of grain already advanced. The men, unable to believe that Timotheus would have sacrificed so large a sum to them unless he was in truth expecting the money, made no further claim for pay until he had completed his dispositions. (II 23b)

Conclusions

The compilation of 77 examples for the increase of government revenues, which make up the second part of Pseudo-Aristotle's *Oikonomika II*, provide a unique insight into the situation of Greek poleis on the brink of the Hellenistic Era, i.e. the time of Aristotle and Alexander the Great. The concern of the anonymous collector of these examples taken from 'earlier times' so as to present 'useful research' is clearly stated at the outset (I 8, quoted above), and indeed the collection will have been especially useful at a time when the few and small traditional revenue streams of Greek poleis – duties, business and income taxes, liturgies and contributions, sale of community property, occasionally the spoils of war – were no longer sufficient to pay for the increasing costs of the polis in an increasingly violent age. The main reasons for such expenses appear as the fulfilment of tribute demands, the relief of famine, expenses as consequences of civil war and spending on foreign wars, especially for arms, but most of all for mercenaries and their unreliable leaders.

These new, frequent and high expenditures in an increasingly violent world brought poleis finances to the brink.[25] The option of 'cutting down expenditures'

(Arist. *Rh*. I 4.8 p.1359b23, quoted at the beginning of this study) was not available any more. Instead, Pseudo-Aristotle's *Oikonomika II* offered a host of tricks on how to increase the public revenue to enable the polis to continue. However, as the examples given in the book show, the polis on the brink of the Hellenistic age was more often than not also on the brink of financial collapse.

Notes

1 Cf. the collection of Audring and Brodersen (2008).
2 For Aristotle's own economic theories in general see Willers (1931) (not on the *Oikonomika*); Finley (1970, 1974); Koslowski (1993); Meikle (1995); and the annotated bibliography of Baloglou and Peukert (1996). For a previous study (in German) on the *Oikonomika II* see Brodersen (2008).
3 Cf. Arist. Fr. 381ff. ed. Rose (1886).
4 Cf. the magisterial work of Chambers (1990).
5 Editions of all three books of Ps.-Aristotle's *Oikonomika*: Bekker (1831: 1345b–1353b); Susemihl (1887); van Groningen (1933); van Groningen and Wartelle (1968); Audring and Brodersen (2008). References to *Oikonomika II* are, as in the Loeb edition (Armstrong 1935), part (I and II) and chapter and subchapter; the pages in Bekker 1831 are 1345b–1346a for part I and 1346b–1335b for part II.
6 Niebuhr (1812/1828: 414).
7 Only Spengel (1868: esp. 125–8 = Spengel 1868: 73–76) and Kirchhoff (1878) dealt with the book.
8 The so-called Naukratis stele, published in Erman and Wilcken (1900: 127–35), appears to match details referred to in II 25a; cf. Wilcken (1901).
9 Riezler (1906, cf. 1907: 9–43). Riezler left classics and became a diplomat; he became known posthumously for the so-called *Riezler Diaries* which were used as evidence for the question of war guilt in World War I. Cf. Erdmann (1972); Kornhass 1973; Thompson (1980).
10 Cf. the further studies by Schlegel (1909); Andreades (1914–15, 1931); Stern (1916).
11 Cf. the reviews by Andreades (1934) and Passerini (1936); see also van Groningen and Wartelle (1968), reviewed by Thillet (1969), Finley (1970), and Goldbrunner (1970).
12 Cracco Ruggini (1966, 1967) tried to attribute the work Ephorus, without compelling reasons. Cf. also Laurenti (1968); Habicht (1975); Engelmann (1977); Jackson (1982–83); Cataudella (1984) (who dates only the first part to the 3rd century BCE); Isager (1988); Aperghis (2004).
13 Brodersen (2006); cf. the review by Germis (2006). Zoepffel (2006) with extensive commentary; cf. the review by Audring (2006). The older German translations – Schnitzer (1856) and Gohlke (1947) – which are often deficient in their historical terminology, are thus obsolete. Translations into English have been published by Forster (1921) and by Armstrong (1935), into Italian by Laurenti (1967) and into French by van Groningen and Wartelle (1968).
14 Finley (1974: 41 n. 51; 1999: 20 and 122).
15 Finley (1970: 317).
16 Only in one case, II 40, the name appears for the first time.
17 Translating τεχνικῶς in I 8 as 'with tricks' is supported by II 24a (τεχνάζει τοιόνδε).
18 Cf. the commentary by Zoepffel (2006).
19 Aperghis (2004: 135); *contra* Brodersen (2007: 455).
20 For these dates see the magisterial commentary by Zoepffel (2006).
21 Cf. Habicht (1975), not used by Zoepffel (2006) ad loc.
22 It is probably for this reason that Chaniotis (2005) in his magisterial study of war in the Hellenistic world never refers to the *Oikonomika II*.

23 For later evidence of famine, cf. for example the one hitting Athens in the mid-290s, which was largely a result of the conflict between Cassander and Lachares on the one side, and Demetrius Poliorcetes on the other (Plut. *Demetr*. 33–34).

24 τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν εἴ τις τελευτήσειε, διαπύλιον ἀπῄτει δραχμὴν τοῦ σώματος· ἅμα τε οὖν ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἀργύριον ἐλάμβανεν, ἅμα τε οἱ ἡγεμόνες οὐ παρεκρούοντο αὐτόν, πότε τετελεύτηκεν ὁ στρατιώτης.

25 Chaniotis (2005: ch. 7, 115–42), exploring economic aspects of Hellenistic warfare, adduces numerous epigraphic examples for how these issues worsened over the later Hellenistic period, given the escalating levels of violence in general and the impact of technologies such as siege machines in particular, the latter entailing the need to rebuild city-walls (for which see *SEG* 38.1476 of 206 BCE, referred to in Chapter One above).

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5 Kings and gods

Divine narratives in Hellenistic violence

Lara O'Sullivan

The cities of the Hellenistic world were vulnerable to the armies of the great kings and generals in a fashion arguably unparalleled in the classical period. Not only were the citizen armies and the mercenary recruiting power of the poleis no match for the resources available to the Diadochi and their successors in the field, but the very walls of the poleis themselves were newly prey to the technologically advanced siege machines of the period, thus jeopardising entire citizen populations; little wonder, then, that the perils faced by women, children, and the elderly, and the destruction of civic spaces loom large in the historical narratives of the age.[1] This chapter examines ways in which this new landscape of violence was refracted in, and mediated by, a variety of religious narratives within the polis. Central to this analysis is ruler cult, the proliferation of which is one of the most well recognised phenomena in Hellenistic religious praxis. The conferral of divine honours on potentates and kings, a gesture itself often shaped by the polis' vulnerability to violence, opened up to Greek cities the possibility of engaging with those potentates through the rituals, genres and language associated with the gods and thereby navigating the polis' experience of Diadochan violence; simultaneously, it provided the potentates themselves with a reciprocal means of articulating to the polis their own capacities for violence, whether destructive or soteric.

Throughout this chapter, the focus will fall on early Hellenistic Athens. That city offers a key insight into the turbulence of the early Diadochan period, a period in which the threat to cities of the Greek mainland was particularly intense. Poleis found themselves pawns in a deadly game of chess waged by the armies of the Antigonid Demetrius Poliorcetes and his adversaries (notably Cassander, son of Antipater, against whom Poliorcetes waged the so-called Four Years' War in 307/6–304/3 BCE). It was a game that frequently brought Diadochan armies to the walls of cities and a game into which the poleis themselves were drawn as active participants through their provision of contingents to the Macedonian forces. A choice prize in strategic and also propagandistic terms, Athens itself was the subject of recurrent and violent competition, prompting the city to repair its walls, stockpile artillery, and expand its navy.[2] Throughout the turbulence, it turned repeatedly to divine models to negotiate its relationship with Poliorcetes, a king whom the Athenians encountered both as welcome liberator and feared assailant. These negotiations form the

core of the following discussion. Before we turn our attention to them, however, we begin by examining ways in which the vulnerability to violence of Athens in this early Hellenistic period can itself be charted in religious expression.

Vulnerabilities

So great was the proclivity of the Greeks to turn to their gods and heroes at times of calamity that the Athenian speaker in Plato's *Laws* deemed it desirable to ban private shrines and to place religious observances under state control; the tendency of women, the sick, and 'those in peril or in distress (whatever the nature of the distress)' (*Leg.* 10.909e) to direct their unregulated attentions to the gods carried with it a consequent potential for impiety (however unintended). Recourse to the gods in time of peril was not, of course, confined to a private sphere: Athens had responded to the peril of plague during the Peloponnesian War, for example, with measures designed to placate the disease-bringer, Apollo and had introduced into the city a new cult, that of the healer-god Asclepius.[3] It could be anticipated, then, that the rise of Macedonian power in the fourth century, and the direct peril to which many poleis were consequently exposed, may likewise have found some religious expression. What a number of these expressions betray is the keen sense of the Hellenistic city's vulnerability to the overbearing power of Macedonian arms.

Notable in this regard is the flowering of interest in Athens in *tychē* (chance, or fortune) from the mid-fourth century onward, an interest in Athens clearly fostered in part by the experience of Macedonian military power.[4] Chance was very much felt to be at play in warfare, with Athenian politicians of the mid-fourth century recognising its hand at work (both positively and negatively) in their battles against the Macedonian.[5] Half a century later, when a cycle of conquests and liberations of the city by rival Macedonian generals and kings had realised the Athenians' worst fears, Demetrius of Phalerum isolated *tychē* as the very force driving the rise and fall of entire empires; as the Athenian who had come to an accommodation with Athens' Macedonian oppressors in 321 and in 317, and who would end his life in exile when his own Macedonian protectors fell in 308/7, Demetrius had good reason to appreciate its power.[6]

This concern with *tychē* hints at a growing recognition within a city such as Athens that its fate was increasingly prey to the vagaries of forces beyond its own control. The evolution, moreover, of *tychē* from abstract concept into a personified object of civic cult – a transformation witnessed at Athens in the mid-fourth century – suggests a desire by the polis to harness this contingency by cultivating a benign manifestation of fortune (*Agathē Tychē*).[7] More specifically, the emergence of a cultic presence for the personified *Tychē* betrays (among other things) a pronounced element of apprehension for the safety of the polis and its citizens from violent attack. City-protection, a quality ascribed to *Tychē* already in the fifth century, is implicit in Hellenistic representations of the goddess adorned with a mural crown,[8] but it is in the period of intense warfare into which Athens was drawn in the early Diadochan period that this potentially military aspect of *Agathē*

Tychē comes to the fore. She appears in a highly fragmentary inscription which is likely to date to the early stages of the Lamian War, in which are recorded munificent sacrifices for the *sōtēria* (safety) of the Athenian *dēmos*; in the Four Years' War she was deemed an appropriate recipient of thanks, alongside Athena Nike and the '*Sōtēres*' (thus the Macedonian potentates Antigonus Monophthalmus and Demetrius Poliorcetes), for a victory that secured the freedom of Greeks in a battle against the army of Cassander's brother, Pleistarchus, in the Peloponnese in 304/3 BCE and for the safety of a contingent of Athenian soldiers from the tribe Acamantis serving in that campaign.[9]

The vulnerability to Diadochan violence felt within Athens is reflected in another attempt to elicit the aid of a non-mortal realm, albeit this time by an individual rather than by the polis. Found in a well inside the Dipylon Gate was a lead curse tablet containing the names of Cassander, his brothers Pleistarchus and Eupolemus, and of Demetrius of Phalerum (*SGD* 14; Gager 1992: no. 57). The grouping of names is suggestive again of the Four Years' War, when Cassander and his two brothers are known to have been active in the region; at one stage Athens itself was even besieged by their forces (and subject perhaps to naval blockade), with Cassander seeking to reinstate the ousted Demetrius as his agent in that city.[10] Given that Eupolemus and Pleistarchus are attested only in military capacities in the vicinity of Athens, the motivation for the curse levelled at them is most readily understood as a military threat; indications that the city defences had in fact been breached by Cassandran forces – this is a likely implication of Pausanias' mention of a *tropaion* erected on a gate near the Stoa Poikile to commemorate a defeat by Athenian cavalry of forces led by Cassander's brother, Pleistarchus (Paus. 1.15.1)[11] – add weight to this, and the deposition of the curse tablet near the Dipylon Gate would fit well with that particular incursion.[12]

What we seem to be witnessing, then, in the Dipylon curse tablet is an attempt to ward off the Cassandran forces by recourse to powers beyond the mortal realm. If this is the case, it is highly unusual, as a military impetus for a curse is largely unparalleled; a possible exception is a second tablet (*DTA* 55) naming as targets a number of individuals serving with the '*Peraikoi*' soldiers, which similarly belongs to the late fourth / early third century.[13] Other extant curses, by contrast, cluster chiefly around business, theatrical, amatory and judicial (and by extension, political) concerns.[14] Comparison with the wider corpus of curse material suggests something of the vulnerability that might prompt the resort to such measures. In one curse, for example, the 'speaker' calls explicit attention to her own vulnerability, invoking the *daimones* to pity her for she was bereft 'of all [her] dear ones' and 'abandoned.'[15] Faraone's assessment is that curses were deployed not as 'after-the-fact measures of vengeful spite but rather as effective "pre-emptive strikes" against a formidable foe in anticipation of a possible or even probable future defeat.'[16] On this basis, the attempt to mobilise the powers of the Underworld is strongly suggestive of the keen sense of vulnerability to the military threat posed by Cassander and his brothers. The curse tablet mirrors, at the level of personal experience, the expressions of danger emanating from the polis itself in this period, with a decree from c. 303/2 BCE that honours

Demetrius Poliorcetes for his assistance against Cassander in Greece recognising Poliorcetes' endurance of 'every danger and hardship' (*SEG* 25.149.7).

Athens was not, of course, the only Greek polis to experience acute vulnerability to a besieging Hellenistic army and to have recourse to the gods in response to that vulnerability. While the Athenian material provides the focus of this chapter, for comparative purposes it is pertinent to note briefly here the rise in the Hellenistic period of reports of epiphanies by gods during episodes of violence, notably those involving attacks on cities.[17] Cassander's brother Pleistarchus is probably to be identified as the assailant in one such of these, where a night assault on Argos in 303 BCE was reportedly repelled by Apollo (so *ISE* 1.39).[18] While the notion of non-mortal aid in military clashes is scarcely confined to the Hellenistic age – traditions ascribed appearances to the Dioscouri at the battle of Sagra in the mid-sixth century, and to the Aeacidae at the battle of Salamis in 480, to cite but two pre-Hellenistic contexts[19] — the epiphany narratives of the later age are distinguished by the presence of gods rather than the heroes who dominate the classical episodes. To some extent, this shift in emphasis was influenced by one particularly renowned episode (Apollo's claimed intervention in protection of Delphi against a Gallic attack in 279 BCE),[20] but it may also be a reflection of the evolving climate of Hellenistic violence, and of the increasing disparity between the citizen levies of the polis and the forces against which they found themselves pitted. The heightened interest in the Hellenistic age in cults of *Sōtēr* gods and proliferation of *Sōtēria* festivals, much of it situated in military contexts, speaks to these same concerns.[21]

Athens and the divine Poliorcetes

The Olympian deities were not the only 'gods' who made themselves manifest to the cities of the Hellenistic world. The development of ruler cult in cities such as Athens, a city that showered divine honours on Antigonus Monophthalmus and Demetrius Poilorcetes in 307 BCE, opened up to them the deployment of language and narratives formerly appropriate to the Olympian deities in their interactions with Macedonian potentates. The very fact of cult honour itself can be linked to the climate of violence that cities such as Athens were experiencing in the late fourth century. Indeed the recourse to language and concepts of gods in the articulation of poleis' experience of the human agents of violence operates in tandem with the proliferation of divine epiphanies in the Hellenistic period, with both phenomena arising in similar circumstances: the polis confronted by an overwhelming disparity of power, and with it the prospect of violence. It is the differential of power that most marked out the divine realm from the mortal, and this thinking underpins the extension of cult honours to mortal potentates.[22] Further, while cultic honour served as recognition of benefaction generally, there is a pronounced military impetus behind others of the Athenians' divine honours for Poliorcetes and his father.[23] The initial acclamation of the Antigonids as *Sōtēres* and institution of an altar for their cult was prompted by the liberation of Athens from its military occupation by a Cassandran garrison in 308/7 BCE, with

its resulting restoration of Athenian democracy.[24] Similarly, when Poliorcetes acquired an altar for Demetrius *Kataibatēs* in 304/3 BCE (Plut. *Demetr*. 10.5), the honour was again precipitated by military crisis (the same crisis that prompted the curse tablet discussed above), with Poliorcetes' return to Athens from Rhodes tipping the balance of power in the Athenians' favour and forcing Cassander to abandon his siege of the city.[25] Further, it was Poliorcetes' military engagement, and his willingness to champion the freedom of the Greeks against Cassander's forces, that prompted a select group of Athenian volunteers (*epilektoi*) who had campaigned with Poliorcetes in the Peloponnese in 303 BCE to take the extraordinary proselytising step of encouraging '[Athenians and] the other Greeks to set up [for Demetrius altars and sanctuaries]', and of encouraging 'those participating in the sacrifices [performed on behalf of Antigonus and Demetrius] to sacrifice also to Demetrius *Sōtēr*' (*SEG* 25.149.14–17).

By deploying soteric language strongly evocative of Olympian cult, the Athenians afforded themselves a means for acknowledging their subservience to Antigonid power in culturally sanctioned terms. At the same time, the model of divine aid allowed the Athenians also to retain for their own forces some of the prestige that attached to the performance of violence. In narratives of interventions by the gods, divine power and citizen forces are conceived as acting in parallel, albeit without the close integration of the god into the citizen army that exemplifies many of the heroic battlefield epiphanies of the classical period; typical in this respect is the description of the punishment of the Gallic attackers of Delphi in 279 BCE as having been effected 'by the god and by the men who came to defend [the god's sanctuary]' (*Syll*.[3] 398.6–7).[26] Two Athenian inscriptions from the Four Years War similarly negotiate the recognition of both the isotheic king and the citizen soldiers. The *epilektoi* depict Poliorcetes as 'standing by' the Athenians and helping them (lines 4–5), and as 'helpfully taking part' with the *epilektoi* (*SEG* 25.149.4–5, 9–11, although lines 9–11 are substantially restored), while in *Agora* 16.114.11–13 the active involvement of the Athenians is signalled by the provision of a sacrifice for the safe and victorious return of 'the soldiers on campaign'.[27] The further provision, in *Agora* 16.114.18–19, of a dedication 'for the eponymous hero' (presumably Acamas, the eponymous hero of the tribe in prytany when the decree was passed) is also worthy of note in this context. Given that the eponymous heroes were in many senses an embodiment of the Athenian *dēmos* itself, this unusual reference to a tribal hero might be taken as reinforcing the Athenians' own contribution to the successes achieved by Poliorcetes in the Peloponnese.[28]

Poliorcetes the destructive god

In the articulation of Poliorcetes' divine identity at Athens, as in much of ruler cult more broadly, there is a strong emphasis on soteric power.[29] Conferral of such a divine identity, however, simultaneously embedded an implicit recognition of the Antigonids' destructive potential, for, in a way consistent with other double-sided aspects of violence explored in this volume, saving and destructive

powers function as two sides of the same divine coin. That most terrible of gods, Ares, was simultaneously 'saviour of cities': so the Homeric *Hymn to Ares* 2. Conversely, Athena's poliadic aspect as protector of cities was closely tied to her destructive prowess in war, as the opening address to Athena in the *Homeric Hymn* betrays:[30]

> Of Pallas Athena, guardian of the city, I begin to sing. Dread is she, and with Ares she loves deeds of war, the sack of cities and the shouting and the battle. It is she who saves the people as they go to war and come back.
>
> (Hom. *Hymn* 11.1–4, trans. Evelyn-White (1914); compare also *Hymn* 28.3.)

Such descriptions reverberate into the Hellenistic age, where a soldier celebrates his part in the destruction of Zanthus in 42 BCE by dedicating a tithe to 'Athena who sacks the cities' (*IGR* III 852). Her capacity for violence is key to literary narratives of her wartime epiphanies, in which terror is a dominant motif. Readying herself to enter the battle fray, Homer's Athena dons her

> . . .betasselled, terrible
> aegis, all about which Terror hangs like a garland,
> and Hatred is there, and Battle strength, and heart-freezing onslaught,
> and thereon is set the head of the grim gigantic Gorgon,
> a thing of fear and horror, portent of Zeus of the aegis.
>
> (Hom. *Il.* 5.738–42, trans. Lattimore, 1951)

Significantly, this pairing of destructive and soteriological capabilities is entrenched in the narratives of Olympian epiphanies in historical military episodes, with the destructive power of the god often emphasised by a narrative focus on the god's impact on the enemy. Manifestations of Apollo's power at Delphi in 279 BCE 'terrified' the invading Gauls, causing them to flee in disorder; so too the god's intervention against the Persians two centuries earlier.[31] An epiphany of Zeus and Hecate at Panamara in 42 BCE likewise elicited terror in the invading forces, throwing them into disarray and causing them to slaughter each other in the mayhem; Aetolian invaders were similarly terrified by the appearance of what they took to be a goddess (Athena or Artemis) at Pellene, and such examples could be multiplied.[32]

This duality of symbolic potential in the representation of divine violence is echoed in literary treatments of the god-like nature of Hellenistic kings and potentates. Intriguing is the description of Poliorcetes that the second century CE litterateur Alciphron ascribes to Poliorcetes' *hetaira*, Lamia, in his collection of imagined letters. Lamia describes to her lover her response on seeing him surrounded by his soldiers and his trappings of state:

> I tremble and I fear and I am troubled, and I turn away as though from the sun, so that I won't burn my eyes; and then you really seem to be the besieger, by Demeter. How you look then, so fierce and warlike.[33] (Alciphron 4.16.1, trans. Granholm, 2012.)

Lamia's reaction is very much akin to that of someone recognising a god (note in particular the emphasis on Poliorcetes' brightness, for radiance is a marked quality of the divine);[34] for her, his divine-like power clearly exists most potently in its violence-bearing aspect. Alciphron's amatory, playful take on the terror-inducing capacity of Poliorcetes mirrors earlier, more serious descriptions of the Rhodian experience of Poliorcetes' aggression in 305/4 BCE, with Diodorus emphasising the terror inspired in the mortal onlookers by the scale, the din and the gleaming of the Antigonid besiegers.[35]

The fostering of a divine identity for Poliorcetes, then, insinuated both his soteric and his destructive capacities. Plutarch captures something of this duality and its resonance with divine nature, remarking that the king patterned himself on Dionysus

> since this god was most terrible in waging war, and on the other hand most skilful, when war was over, in making peace minister to joy and pleasure.[36]
>
> (Plut. *Demetr*. 2.3, trans. Perrin, 1920)

For Plutarch, the trajectory of Poliorcetes' career ultimately betrayed the dominance of his destructive tendencies, and the biographer turned again to religious discourses to express his own condemnation of Poliorcetes as a man who 'took pleasure in being given a nickname which is the opposite of one bestowed on the king of the gods, for Zeus is known as the protector or defender of cities but Demetrius as the besieger' (Plut. *Demetr*. 42.10).[37] Plutarch elsewhere implies, in relation to the divine honours showered on Poliorcetes at Athens, that these too might in fact best be understood as the products of fear (*Demetr*. 30.6–7).

Faced with such destructive potential of isotheic power, poleis responded by shaping the honours available to them to cultivate and elicit the soteric aspect of potentates – not always with success. Athens itself bore witness to the hostile manifestation of Poliorcetes' power after the defeat of the Antigonids at Ipsus in 301 BCE. The diminution of Poliorcetes' sway after that defeat had emboldened the Athenians to cast off their close relationship with him, a relationship that had become increasingly invasive and oppressive over the course of the Four Years' War; the repudiation of Poliorcetes saw the city instead come under the sway of Lachares, a man aligned with Cassander.[38] This reversal of attitude brought down Poliorcetes' wrath on Athens, and in 296/95 BCE he restored his control of the city by violent means: not only was Attic territory invaded in action serious enough to be termed a war by contemporary observers, but grain ships were deterred from supplying the city by Poliorcetes' hanging of the pilot and the owner of an Athens-bound vessel.[39] A recalcitrant Athens was thereby starved into submission, and, anticipating violent reprisals, the city received Poliorcetes anew (Plut. *Demetr*. 34).

Once more there was recourse to divine models – this time, it seems, orchestrated by Poliorcetes himself – to negotiate this volatile flashpoint. At Poliorcetes' order, the whole population gathered to receive him in the theatre;

the king himself then made his highly staged entrance in a fashion that Plutarch likens to that of a tragic actor (*Demetrius* 34.4). Plutarch here employs a recurrent motif in his biography of Poliorcetes, namely the resonances between Poliorcetes and the world of the stage, but the significances of this episode may have been more profound than the biographer realised.[40] As Thonemann has carefully demonstrated, Poliorcetes' entry into Athens coincided with the festival of the Dionysia, and the restoration of his 'good relationship' with (or more cynically, of his control over) Athens was commemorated by the modification of the Dionysia itself, which briefly became the 'Dionysia and Demetrieia'.[41] On this basis, it could be suggested that Demetrius' entry into the theatre in 296/95 BCE may have been construed not as the entrance of a mere tragic actor, but rather as that of Dionysus incarnate. This posited identification is strengthened if, as is likely, it is to this context that belongs the enactment of a decree that 'whenever Demetrius visited Athens he should be received with the same divine honours that were paid to Demeter and Dionysus;'[42] it may perhaps be in this very context too that belongs the late report that the king took to dressing as Dionysus, exchanging his sceptre for a thyrsus and his diadem for a crown of ivy.[43] The minting of coinage depicting Poliorcetes with bull-horns from around this date is also likely to indicate his identification with Dionysus.[44]

Poliorcetes' identification with Dionysus was certainly apposite for a king renowned for his beauty and for his sympotic proclivities, the latter of which prompt Diodorus Siculus to an explicit comparison of the Beseiger and that god.[45] Yet the identification spoke also to the king's potentially destructive wrath. Dionysus was a deity whom Euripides could describe as 'for mankind a most terrible, but also a most gentle god,'[46] and a whole raft of mythological episodes associated with Dionysus concern the vengeance meted out by the god on those who opposed or failed to recognise his power: traditions about Orpheus, Pentheus, Cyanippus and Aruntius are notable in this context.[47] Consequently, violence has been a key dimension in some scholarly thinking about this god and his cult.[48] The vengeful potential of the god is certainly appropriated in the construction of Poliorcetes-as-Dionysus in 296/95 BCE.

Simultaneously, the identification allowed Poliorcetes subtly to exploit Athenian myth and ritual in order to facilitate his own reconciliation with the city. The coincidence of his reception with the Dionysia at Athens here is key. According to its aetiological myth, the Dionysia was preceded by a ritual reception that atoned for Athens' initial rejection of the god's statue when it was brought to the city from Eleutherae; that initial rejection incurred the punishment of a wrathful Dionysus, until the city recognised its error and appeased the god. The *eisagōgē* that preceded the Dionysia each year enacted a ritual recognition and welcome of the now-acknowledged god, with the statue of Dionysus Eleuthereus carried in procession into the city. Throughout the festival itself, Dionysus was present, embodied in this same statue that presided in the theatre over the competitions performed in the god's honour. Hence the Dionysia festival constituted a *xenismos*, a ritual reception of the god.[49] For this mythic and ritual sequence, the historical events of 296/95 formed a close analogy;[50] the Athenians' rejection of

Poliorcetes after Ispus had seen them fall prey to stasis and famine, misfortunes that were ultimately averted by the reconciliation of king and polis.[51] Poliorcetes' epiphany as Dionysus-incarnate visibly manifest to the Athenian audience gathered in the theatre the king's destructive potential. This potential had recently been realised through his agency in the famine that had wracked Athens; the point was made further tangible by his ringing of both theatre and stage with armed men (Plut. *Demetr*. 34.4).[52] As befitted the Dionysian ritual, the transformative power of Dionysus was dramatically revealed, with the retribution anticipated by the gathered Athenians replaced by an encounter with the beneficent aspect of the king, who lavished grain on the city (again we think of Dionysus, who had brought agricultural gifts to the city). Plutarch's account emphasises the high emotion of the moment of the king's revelation and of the transformation effected: Poliorcetes

> like the tragic actors, came down into view through one of the upper side entrances. The Athenians were now more frightened than ever, but with the first words he uttered Demetrius put an end to their fears.[53]
>
> (Plut. *Demetr*. 34.4, trans. Perrin)

Poliorcetes thus provided Athens with a means for its communal reconciliation with him through recourse to the established religious paradigm of the Dionysia. Athens itself embraced this symbolism and reciprocated by adding a Demetreia to the Dionysia, thereby signalling its recognition of Poliorcetes' power and their own integration of it into established ritual at the core of the polis.[54]

Harnessing and directing violence

In addition to its ability to offer modes of reconciliation, the construction of a divine identity around Poliorcetes opened avenues through which the Athenians might attempt to re-route Poliorcetes' own capacity for violence and to channel it to their own ends. Illustrative here is an ithyphallic hymn, quoted at length by Duris of Samos, which was performed at Athens upon Poliorcetes' arrival in the city c. 291/90 BCE.[55] By that time the death of Cassander (in 297 BCE) had removed the most immediate of threats to Athenian autonomy, but a new source of anxiety loomed in Aetolia, whose aggressive expansion in central Greece the Athenians viewed with trepidation. The Athenian verses address this new source of peril by exploiting the generic conventions of the hymn form. Adhering to the tripartite structure appropriate to the genre, the poet invokes the 'god', provides a narrative of his deeds and characteristics, and finally introduces a request for benefit: the destruction of the Aetolians.[56]

Whether the Athenians were moved to encourage the targeting of Aetolia because of genuine fears for their own safety from that front, or whether they were more concerned simply to discourage Poliorcetes and his forces from tarrying long in Attic territory (Athens' experiences of his residence in the city in the Four Years' War will have been salutary in this regard) is a moot point.[57] Nonetheless,

the hymn casts the Athenians as powerless in the face of the new Aetolian threat. Aetolia itself is characterised as a 'sphinx' which 'seizes and carries away all our people', while the chorus ascribes power to the king alone, singing of itself as 'unable to fight.'

> So we pray to you: first make peace, dearest one, for you have the power. And then, the Sphinx that rules not only over Thebes but over the whole of Greece, the Aetolian sphinx sitting on a rock like the ancient one, who seizes and carries away all our people, and I cannot fight against her . . . ; most of all punish her yourself; if not, find an Oedipus who will either hurl down that sphinx from the rocks or reduce her to ashes.[58]
>
> (ll.20–35, trans. Austin 2006, modified by Chaniotis 2011: 160).

While critics railed against the abnegation of past Athenian valour in this approach, lamenting the fact that such verses were sung by a people whose ancestors had slain 'countless' barbarians at Marathon,[59] this claimed helplessness need not in fact be taken at face value; as Chaniotis has observed, it derives as much from conventions of religious appeal as from any real or profound Athenian helplessness. Assertions that the god alone has the power to effect a desired outcome feature in other prayers: Chaniotis compares with the Athenian ithyphallic a much later prayer directed to Asclepius by the sick Diophantus:[60]

> Save me, blessed, most powerful, and heal the bad disease. For none of the mortals who live on earth can find a cure for the pain. Only you, blessed god, have the power. (*IG* ii^2 4515, second century CE)

We may think too of the curse tablets cited earlier. The espoused powerlessness in the Athenian ithyphallic is thus a rhetorical strategy that deploys religious modes of discourse in order to elicit Poliorcetes' military support.

In fact, the Athenian hymn may be construed as something of a challenge to Demetrius, a challenge rendered possible by ambiguities inherent in the divine identity that they had constructed for him, ambiguities experienced particularly around the notion of epiphany.[61] The creation of a 'divine' Demetrius had imbued his visits to the polis with an epiphanic aspect: when in Athens, he was a god manifest on earth. This is reflected in many of the cultic honours that Athens contrived. The epithet *Kataibatēs*, for instance, is generally indicative of a physical manifestation, as it is in cults of Zeus *Kataibatēs* created at places where Zeus descended to earth as lightning; Plutarch understood the altar of Demetrius *Kataibatēs* to have been set up where Poliorcetes similarly descended to earth (albeit from his chariot rather than from the aether: Plut. *Demetr*. 10.5). Epiphany is central to Poliorcetes' advent into the Athenian theatre in 296/95 BCE (treated above) and to the ensuing Athenian proposal to receive Poliorcetes, whenever he arrived, with the reception rituals due to Demeter and Dionysus, gods whose own epiphanic tendencies were particularly pronounced. The notion of epiphany is particularly pronounced, moreover, in the ithyphallic hymn itself,[62] and in the

staging of Poliorcetes' reception at which the verses were performed. In the surviving verses, Poliorcetes' manifest presence is a dominant topos:

> How the greatest and dearest of the gods are present in our city! For circumstances have brought together Demeter and Demetrius; she is here to celebrate the solemn Mysteries of the Kore, while he is here, full of joy, as befits the god, fair and laughing . . . (ll. 1–8).[63]

A contemporary witness of Poliorcetes' arrival, Democharès, claims further that the performance of the hymn was accompanied by the pouring of libations, the burning of incense and the crowning of altars. That is, the performative-context of this hymn will have been a veritable celebration of the arrival of a god with his attendant reception (*dexiōsis*) by the ritual community. The coincidence of Poliorcetes' arrival with the celebration of the Eleusinian Mysteries, itself a rite with a strongly revelatory component, will have further underscored this epiphanic aspect.[64]

The recognition of a god manifest on earth was, however, a complex cognitive task. Cioffi had identified distinct 'protocols' of epiphany: vital not only was the manifestation of the god, but also the perception of the god by the viewer and, importantly, the recognition by the viewer of the divine nature manifest before him.[65] Thanks to the uncertainties raised by divine anthropomorphism on the one hand and the possibility of mortal likeness to a god on the other, that recognition could be contested and uncertain, as Odysseus laments to Athena in the *Odyssey* (13.312–313). Graf (2004) approaches the ambiguities of epiphany from another perspective, writing of the hermeneutical space that existed within epiphany between the physically possible and religious imagination; the collapsing of such space required an act of interpretation and the acceptance of signs of manifestation. While recognition in some instances was bolstered by an oracular pronouncement, in many others the identification of the manifest god depended upon the complicity of the viewer, whether individual or collective.

The cultural patterning around epiphany, therefore, allowed the polis a degree of agency in its recognition of the potentate's power, and in this light the ithyphallic verses may be construed as a challenge to Poliorcetes to verify the divine status that the chorus has offered to acknowledge by unleashing his destructive power. A potentially ludic element in the verses tacitly problematises the authenticity of the chorus' stated recognition of Poliorcetes' divine status, for in the opening sections of the ithyphallic he is acclaimed with an incongruous, and potentially unflattering, divine genealogy as the son of Aphrodite and Poseidon.[66] In lines 7–8, moreover, his divine identity is predicated on his beauty. Beauty was a rather slippery criterion for recognition of an epiphany: while gods were indeed often thus identified among men there are numerous examples of mortals being wrongly accepted as divine on the basis of their looks (Herodotus' story of Phye must rank as one of the earliest and most renowned of these).[67] The chorus insinuates that Poliorcetes must prove his divine identity by wielding his violent power on behalf of his worshippers:

> For other gods are either far away, or they do not have ears, or they do not exist, or do not take any notice of us, but you we can see present here, not made of wood or stone but real. So we pray to you: first make peace, dearest, for you have the power.[68] (ll.15–22)

The Athenians pressed further their recognition of Poliorcetes as a god in the context of the Aetolian menace, with an application to him in place of Apollo Pythios for oracles reminding the king both of the Aetolians' recent seizure of Delphi and of his own isotheic power to confront the situation.[69] To the extent that Poliorcetes did indeed subsequently channel his violence against Aetolia, the Athenian strategy may be counted a success.

Harnessing and diverting violence on the panhellenic stage

From this localised example in the Athenian ithyphallic, we conclude by tracing briefly the echoing of some of these same motifs and strategies on a wider Hellenic stage, for by construing the Aetolian foe as a monstrous Sphinx rather than as fellow (albeit marginalised) Greeks, the Athenian hymn draws upon a topos common to many narratives of divine interventions in battles according to which gods manifest a patent concern for the *sōtēria* of Greeks in the face of a hostile barbarian threat. The model was present already in narratives of the Persian invasion of 480/79 BCE, and was iconographically reinforced by the symbolic parallels drawn, on buildings such as the Parthenon, between the clashes of the Persian Wars and the struggles of the Olympian order against the giants.[70] The Hellenistic period witnessed a strong reaffirmation of this established paradigm thanks to the claim of divine participation in the preservation of Delphi from Gallic attack in 279 BCE, and its subsequent echoing in a raft of claimed interventions by gods against the Gauls in other parts of the Greek world.[71]

These epiphany episodes served to underline to a wider, panhellenic audience the Greek identity and status of the community that received the divine visitation. A feature of epiphany narratives generally, this tendency was arguably amplified in the Hellenistic period, where there is a notable trend for epiphanies to feature deities of panhellenic standing rather than heroes and gods of more predominately local significance.[72] They served to imply, for the recipient community, a degree of divine favour that might elevate the polis' prestige, a prestige sometimes reflected in the subsequent conferral of *asylia* (sacred and inviolable) status in the wake of an epiphany.[73] They served, moreover, to define the non-Greek 'other' as the fitting target of divine violence, and they thereby furnished a powerful model for encouraging the kings, with their isotheic aspirations, to divert their violence against a non-Greek foe.

For the Hellenistic poleis, this had a special utility. The Macedonian war-lords of the late fourth century had assumed the rhetoric of Greek freedom (*eleutheria*, a concept sometimes allied to *sōtēria*) as a key slogan of their own in their dealings with the Greeks.[74] (In doing so, they sought to appropriate ideals for which the Greek poleis themselves had fought, and which they had indeed deployed

against the threat of Macedonian domination itself.[75]) Dmitriev has shown that for the Diadochi, however, this propaganda had functioned not to enshrine the freedom and autonomy of the Greeks, but rather as a means to justify their own violence against, and military occupation of, poleis that had fallen under the sway of their rivals; it served in part as a tool to build their own territory and undermine that of their opponents.[76] The bloody feud between Poliorcetes and Cassander for control of Athens and other mainland poleis in the closing years of the fourth century had been played out against a backdrop of just such rhetoric, with *sōtēria* and *eleutheria* recurrent references in the honours voted by Athens for Poliorcetes and his military officers.[77] The advent of the Gauls in 279/78 BCE urged a shift of emphasis towards *sōtēria*, an emphasis underscored by the institution of a Soteria festival at Delphi in the immediate aftermath of the victory. While not displacing the campaigns for Greek freedom entirely, this encouraged the focus of the kings' soteric and liberating ambitions against the Gauls themselves.[78]

To some extent this shift was fortuitous, a product of historical circumstance. What is significant here, however, is that the claims of divine manifestations at Delphi in 279/78 BCE (and the spate of epiphanies against the Gauls that these manifestations inspired) should be recognised as a vital element in the construction of an alternative narrative that poleis could promote, and that kings could acceptably adopt. The Hellenistic potentates themselves clearly saw the appeal of the divine paradigm; many went to significant lengths to claim and to publicise their own successes (even spurious ones) against a barbarian Gallic threat; their efforts were recognised, and the kings themselves rewarded, with religiously framed expressions of *sōtēria*, whether through the kings' own adoption of *Sōtēr* as epiclesis, or through the institution of commemorative *Sōtēria* festivals.[79] This emulation of the behaviours of the gods gave the kings a way of deploying violence that fulfilled their own need for legitimisation through demonstration of prowess in war, while at the same time allowing them to construe themselves as embodiments of a Greek identity held in common with the *poleis* over whom they aspired to rule.[80] The model was enduringly effective: the Lycian city of Telmessus lauds Eumenes II in 184 BCE as 'our Saviour and Benefactor', for 'having summoned the gods to his assistance and struggled against Prusias and Ortiagon and the Galatians and their allies, he triumphed brilliantly', and in 167/66 BCE Eumenes II himself boasts, to a League of Ionian poleis (in language borrowed from the League's own decree in his honour) that that he had 'undertaken many great struggles against the barbarians, exercising all zeal and forethought that the inhabitants of the Greek cites might always dwell in peace'.[81] Shaped throughout by the Greek experience of their gods, here was a violence that united as it destroyed.

Notes

1 Famous is Phylarchus *FGrH* 81 F53 (fall of Mantinea), but one may compare Diod. Sic. 20.83.2, 98.8 (siege of Rhodes); Paus. 10.22.2 (depredations of the Gauls in Greece); for destruction of cities and houses, *IMylasa* 602; *SEG* 38.1476.93–99; Polyb. 11.5.6.
2 *IG* ii² 463; Plut. *Demetr*. 10.1; Diod. Sic. 20.46.4.

3 Purification of Delos: Diod. Sic. 12.58.6, cf Thuc. 1.8, 3.104 with Hornblower (1991: 519). Introduction of Asclepius in 420/19: *IG* ii^2 4960a; connected with the plague, Mitchell-Boyask (2008: 105–21, 153–82).
4 On *Tychē*, see Eidinow (2011: 45–52, esp. 50–51) on the impact of the violent changes associated with the rise of Macedonian power.
5 Dem. 18.192–4 on the Athenian defeat at Chaeronea.
6 For Demetrius of Phalerum's *Peri Tychē* see his F82 A-B SOD. A similar understanding of chance as a force that can raise up the humble, and dash down the powerful, appears in a Hellenistic hymn to *Tychē*: see Furley (2010: 168–77).
7 For *Tychē* in cult, and for other indications of interest (such as the standardisation of inclusion of the formula 'with good fortune' in the prescript of Attic decrees), see Tracy (1994); Parker (1996: 231–2); Mikalson (1998: 37).
8 As city-protector, Pind. F39 Snell (*ap*. Paus. 4.30.6; Plut. *Mor*. 322c); similarly as 'saviour goddess' and daughter of 'Zeus the Deliverer' of Himera in Pind. *Olymp*. 12.1–2; in Aesch. *Ag.* 664 she is 'saviour goddess.' A soteric aspect of *Tychē* is evident also much later, for example in the third-century cult of Tyche Primogenia (alongside Zeus *Sōtēr*) in a garrison at Itona in Crete: see Spyridakis (1969).
9 Lamian War: *Hesperia* 63 (1994) 234–35 (esp. ll. 28–9) with Tracy (1994). Four Years' War: *Agora* 16.114.15–16, 21–5, on which decree see Woodhead (1981) (with pages 361–2 on *Tychē*, and 366 on the severity of the military situation); Habicht (1990); Woodhead (1997: 180–82).
10 For the military situation in 304/3 BCE: Polyaen. 4.11.1; Paus. 1.29.8, 35.2; Plut. *Demetr*. 23.1, *SEG* 36.165 with Gregory (1995: 15–16), *IG* ii^2 492 with Hauben (1974). On the curse tablet: Jordan (1980); Bayliss (2003: 137).
11 On the identification of the engagement mentioned by Paus. 1.15.1, see Habicht (1997: 74–5); Burstein (1977) differs slightly in his location of the clash.
12 Bayliss (2003: 137).
13 Unparalleled: Parker (2005: 130). On the *Peraikoi* soldiers, Bayliss (2003). Caution is urged, however, by the haphazard preservation of curses (many of which may have been oral, or committed to perishable material), as well as their frequently undiscernible contexts: so Eidinow (2011: 141); Faraone (1997: 7) cites evidence for the inscription of curses also on wax.
14 Categorisations of curses: Eidinow (2011: 154–5). While no other curse tablets from military contexts as such have been identified, an indirect parallel for the use of a curse in a military context might be found, however, in the directive issued by Apollo to the people of Syedra when they were suffering repeated pirate attack; he instructed them to erect a statue of Ares and bind it in the 'iron chains of Hermes', while maintaining their defensive military strategies. The binding of the statue is evocative of the 'binding' which is enjoined in many curses. See Faraone (1997: 9), with two other examples of state (rather than private) 'magic' used to ward off enemies.
15 Eidinow (2011: 143–4).
16 Faraone (1997: 4, cf. 20); see also Eidinow (2011: 6).
17 Platt (2011: 14); O'Sullivan (2014: 85).
18 For the emotional resonance of the nocturnal setting of this assault on Argos, compare Chaniotis in Chapter 6 of this volume.
19 Dioscouri at Sagra: Diod. Sic. 8.32; Justin 20.2; Strabo 6.1.10; Aeacidae at Salamis: Hdt. 8.64, Plut. *Them*. 15.1. Epiphanies connected with historical battles are catalogued by Pritchett (1979: 11–46); see also Speyer (1980); Petridou (2015: 107–41); O'Sullivan (forthcoming).
20 For Delphi 279 BCE: *Syll.*^{3} 398; Diod. Sic. 22.9.5; Justin 24.8.5–12; Suda sv ἐμοὶ μελήσει; Cic. *Div*. 1.81; heroes were also manifest: so Paus. 1.4.4, 10.23.3. Clearly influenced by this Delphic episode are: Paus. 10.32.4–5 (Themisonium); Paus. 10.30.9 (Celaenae); Pritchett (1979: 32) includes in his list of epiphanies a possible appearance by Heracles at Cyzicus c. 278/77 BCE.

21 Chaniotis (2008: 146–7). For the epiclesis *Sōtēr* and military contexts, see Launey (1950: 914ff); Kolde (2003: 365).
22 Power as the distinguishing feature of gods: Petridou (2015: 38–9).
23 For non-Athenian examples of cultic honours arising from violent conflict, see Chaniotis (2008: 73).
24 Diod. Sic. 20.46.1–2. In the Athenian usages and elsewhere, *sōtēria* encompasses both protection from military attack and the concomitant preservation of political autonomy and stability.
25 Cult of Demetrius *Kataibatēs*: Plut. *Demetr*. 10.5, *Mor*. 338a; Clem. Al. *Protr.* 4.54.6. The date here adopted for its institution is that advocated by Habicht (1970: 48–50), and generally accepted in subsequent literature. For the military context, Plut. *Demetr*. 23 (for Athens), cf. Diod. Sic. 20.100.5–6, 102–3 on the impact of Poliorcetes' return to Greece on Cassander's armies more generally.
26 Perceptions of epiphanic heroes frequently locate them within the citizen ranks, whether as hoplites or cavalrymen (e.g. Paus. 9.22.2; Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.6.) and they are often described as *symmakhoi* (e.g. Hdt. 8.64.1; Diod. Sic. 8.32.1–2; Polemon 2.62); cf. their depiction as hoplites in visual arts: Salapata (1997: 247–9); Bravo (2004: 70–71).
27 *SEG* 25.149.4–5: νῦν δ' Ἀθηναίοις πα]||ραγέγονεν βοηθήσων μετὰ δυν[άμεως καὶ μείζονος; cf. 9–11: συναντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν] | κατὰ Πελοπόννησον πράζεων. Agora 16.114.11–13: οἵ τε σ] | [τ]ρατευόμενοι σωιζόμεν[οι ἐκ πολέμου κατίω] | [σ]ιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν κρατήσ[αντες τῶν πολεμίων.
28 Acamas: see Woodhead (1997: 183) (in his commentary on *Agora* 16.114). On the *eponymoi* as representative of the Athenian *dēmos*, note the inclusion of statues of these Attic heroes in the statue group dedicated at Delphi to commemorate the Athenian victory at Marathon: Paus. 10.10.1–2.
29 On power of protection as a key driver of ruler cult, see Chaniotis (2003: 432–3). For Poliorcetes and *sōtēria* at Athens, note *Agora* 16.114 for the sacrifice offered to the Antigonid *Sōtēres* (as well as to Athena Nike and *Agathē Tychē*) for the safe return of soldiers fighting in the Peloponnese in 304/3; there is a soteric emphasis also in *SEG* 25.149.7–8, with the *epilektoi* praising him for his concern for their safety.
30 For Athena's protective function see also: Solon 4.3–4 (West); Pindar *Ol*. 5.10; Ar. *Th*. 129–30, *Equ*. 581; the tension between her destructive and protective capacities is highlighted in the *Iliad*, especially in book 6 with Hecabe's entreaty to the goddess (whom she addresses as *rusiptolis* — guardian of the city: *Il.* 6.305, cf. 6.311); Athena will, of course, be instrumental in the destruction of Troy. On this duality of function, Deacy (2000: 286–9).
31 Gauls in 279: Paus. 10.23.2; Just. 24.8.9–16; for the event as an epiphany, *Syll.*[3] 398.16–19. Persians in 480: Hdt 8.38.1.
32 *I.Stratonikeia* 10, with Petridou (2015: 138–41) for Panamara; Plut. *Arat*. 32 and Polyaenus *Strat*. 8.59 for Pellene. For armies' terror at epiphanies, compare also Paus. 6.20.4–5 (Arcadians at Elis). Also, Demeter's inducement of fear among the Persians (at Plataea) may be indicated in the fragmentary remains of a Simonidean elegy (F17 W2; *POxy*. 3965 F.19).
33 πέφρικα καὶ δέδοικα καὶ ταράττομαι, καὶ ἀποστρέφομαι ὡς τὸν ἥλιον, μὴ ἐπικαῶ τὰ ὄμματα. καὶ τότε μοι ὄντως ὁ πολιορκητὴς εἶναι δοκεῖς, Δάματερ. οἷον δὲ καὶ βλέπεις τότε, ὡς πικρὸν καὶ πολεμικόν.
34 For markers of gods' epiphanies (esp. beauty, radiance, stature and fragrance) see Versnel (1987); Gladigow (1990: 98–121). Lamia's response resembles that of Telemachus to Odysseus, when the latter has been rendered god-like by Athena: *Od.* 16.178–9, with Petridou 2015, 37.
35 Siege of Rhodes: Diod. Sic. 20.83.1–2, 86.4; cf O'Sullivan (2014: 84 n.11).
36 Plut. *Demetr*. 2.3: ὡς πολέμῳ τε χρῆσθαι δεινότατον, εἰρήνην τ' αὖθις ἐκ πολέμου τρέψαι [καὶ] πρὸς εὐφροσύνην καὶ χάριν ἐμμελέστατον.

37 Plut. *Demetr*. 42.10: ἔχαιρε τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν θεῶν ἀνομοιοτάτην ἐπιγραφόμενος προσωνυμίαν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Πολιεὺς καὶ Πολιοῦχος, ὁ δὲ Πολιορκητὴς ἐπίκλησιν ἔσχεν.
38 Athens' rejection of Poliorcetes: Plut. *Demetr*. 30.4–31.1. The documentation of Lachares' regime is sparse: see Paus. 1.25.7; Plut. *Demetr*. 33.1; Phlegon *FGrH* 257a F1–4 (= *POxy*. 10.1235).
39 Plut. *Demetr*. 33.5; for war, see *SEG* 24.156.3, with Thonemann (2005: 86) on its date. Rather than spurning Poliorcetes so emphatically after Ipsus, Athens might have profited from the lesson provided by Rhodes in 305/4 BCE. Even at the height of Poliorcetes' attack, that city had chosen not to overturn the honours it had formerly paid to the Antigonids, and did so 'as protection against the sudden shift of fortune if the war should result in the capture of Rhodes' (so Diod. Sic. 20.93.7).
40 Plut. *Demetr*. 18.5, 25.9, 28.1, 41.5–6, 44.9, 53.1 for comparisons with actors and the theatrical world. The interest in costume present in many of these references may be Plutarch's own, as it is an interest manifest in others of his biographies (Duff 1999: 124–6), although the nature of Hellenistic royalty itself was inherently theatrical: see Strootman (2014: 42).
41 On the Demetrieia, see Plut. *Demetr*. 12.2 (τῶν ἑορτῶν τὰ Διονύσια μετωνόμασαν Δημήτρια – inaccurate, however, in terms of its name and relationship to the Dionysia); *SEG* 45.101.41–43; Habicht (1970: 50–5).
42 Plut. *Demetr*. 12.1; for the date, Habicht (1970: 50–5); Mikalson (1998: 92).
43 Herodian 1.3.1, with Chaniotis (2011: 170) for this as a reference to Demetrius.
44 So, among others, Thonemann (2005: 83–4); Chaniotis (2011: 185); others (e.g. Pollitt 1986: 31–2) identify the horns instead with Poseidon. For a c. 295 BCE date, Mørkholm (1991: 27).
45 Diod. Sic. 20.92. 4. Notably, this comparison is situated within a violent context, namely a narrative of the siege of Rhodes. Hieronymus of Cardia has been suspected as the ultimate source of this material, material that reaches Diodorus Siculus perhaps via the intermediary account of the Rhodian historian, Zenon. See Hornblower (1981: 59); Wiemer (2001: 248–50).
46 Eur. *Bacc*. 859–61.
47 Orpheus: Aeschylus' *Bassarides*, according to the plot summary by Eratosth. [*Cat.*] 24 (p.140 Robert); Pentheus: among early attestations are Aesch. *Eum*. 24; Eurip. *Bacc*. esp. 216–20 for Pentheus' refusal to accept Dionysus' divinity, a theme possibly treated also in Aeschylus' earlier, now lost play *Pentheus* or *Bacchae*; Cyanippus and Aruntius: [Plut.] *Mor*. 310b–c.
48 Henrichs (1984) provides a useful overview of scholarly approaches to Dionysus; see esp. p. 206–9 on the emphasis on violence.
49 Pickard-Cambridge (1988: 59–60); Sourvinou Inwood (2003: 73–5).
50 Thonemann (2005: 79–80) notes the nature of the Dionysia as a festival commemorating the reception of a god, but does not tease out the implications for the Athenians' experience of Poliorcetes' violence. He notes too that the depiction of Poliorcetes on the proscenium of the theatre (mentioned by Duris *FGrH* 76 F14) will have made the king 'present' at subsequent Demetrieia festivals in just the way that the statue of Dionysus Eleuthereus made the god present at the Dionysia.
51 Poliorcetes' arrival by sea in 296/95 BCE also evoked another Dionysus ritual at Athens (perhaps the Anthesteria: Hedreen (2013: 191); Parker (2005: 302–3) considers the Lenaea another candidate) that remembered Dionysus' ship-borne advent to the city. Dionysus' arrival by ship was similarly associated with the receipt of benefactions from the god, as Hermippus F63 suggests.
52 The Dionysian bull-horn iconography of Poliorcetes' coins (above p. 85) may also embed this violence; note the representation of Dionysus as a bull attacking a goat (with the goat identified by Choeroboscus *Com*. 84.3 as Lycurgus, an Edonian king who refused to worship the god) in Aesch. F10 (from *Bassarides*).

53 αὐτὸς δὲ καταβὰς ὥσπερ οἱ τραγῳδοὶ διὰ τῶν ἄνω παρόδων, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκπεπληγμένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων, τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ λόγου πέρας ἐποιήσατο τοῦ δέους αὐτῶν.

54 Athens is not the only place where we find such recourse to Dionysus-motifs. At a more informal, individual level, a similar appeal is made to the mythology of Dionysus when, after the severe diminution of his power in 288 BCE, Poliorcetes did away with his ostentatious royal garb and approached Thebes dressed as a private citizen, and was observed by a Theban who is said to have recited (a modified version of) Eur. *Bacch.* 4–5 on the arrival of Dionysus: 'Changing his godhead into mortal guise He comes to Ismene's waters and Dirce's stream' (so Plut. *Demetr*. 45.5). Poliorcetes was accepted into Thebes, where he restored ancestral constitution.

55 Duris *FGrH* 76 F13. For the context, see Demochares *FGrH* 75 F2. The hymn and its context have received extensive scholarly discussion: see in particular Marcovich (1988: 8–19); Mikalson (1998: 94–9); Green (2003); Kolde (2003: 378–92); Chaniotis (2011); Versnel (2011); Holton (2014).

56 On requests in hymns, see Race (1982: 10–12). For an example of another, slightly later Hellenistic Athenian hymn, see Furley (1995: 32–7).

57 See Plut. *Demetr*. 23–4, 26–7 for Poliorcetes' depradations in Athens in 304–301 BCE, and compare Brodersen in this volume for the economic burden of supporting troops. Somewhat ironically, Plut. *Demetr*. 41.1 understands Poliorcetes' eventual decision to invade Aetolia as a diversionary tactic, but one engineered to bolster the king's own control over the Macedonians by channelling their violent energies.

58 εὐχόμεσθα δή σοι· | πρῶτον μὲν εἰρήνην πόησον, φίλτατε·| κύριος γὰρ εἶ σύ. | τὴν δ' οὐχὶ Θηβῶν, ἀλλ' ὅλης τῆς Ἑλλάδος | Σφίγγα περικρατοῦσαν, | Αἰτωλὸν ὅστις ἐπὶ πέτρας καθήμενος, | ὥσπερ ἡ παλαι<ά>, | τὰ σώμαθ' ἡμῶν πάντ' ἀναρπάσας φέρει, | κοὐκ ἔχω μάχεσθαι· . . . μάλιστα μὲν δὴ κόλασον αὐτός· εἰ δὲ μή, | Οἰδίπουν τιν' εὑρέ, | τὴν Σφίγγα ταύτην ὅστις ἢ κατακρημνιεῖ | ἢ σποδὸν ποιήσει.

59 Duris *FGrH* 76 F13; Baron (2013: 100–104) attributes this sentiment to Athenaeus rather than Duris.

60 Chaniotis (2011: 182–3), citing also *SEG* 43.434 (Pella, fourth century BCE) and *IG* 12.7.1 (Anaphe, c. 100 BCE).

61 So Chaniotis (2011: 181–3).

62 Platt (2011: 141–5) on epiphany and Hellenistic kingship, with particular reference to this hymn; cf. Versnel (2011: 447 cf. 449).

63 ὡς οἱ μέγιστοι τῶν θεῶν καὶ φίλτατοι | τῇ πόλει πάρεισιν· | ἐνταῦθα <γὰρ Δήμητρα καὶ> Δημήτριον | ἅμα παρῆγ' ὁ καιρός. | χὴ μὲν τὰ σεμνὰ τῆς Κόρης μυστήρια | ἔρχεθ' ἵνα ποήσῃ, | ὁ δ' ἰλαρός, ὥσπερ τὸν θεὸν δεῖ, καὶ καλὸς | καὶ γελῶν πάρεστι. The tangibility of the king is a motif too in *SEG* 25.149 (see above p. 82), the motivational clauses of which (lines 1–11) repeatedly stress the presence of the king. While Poliorcetes is not overtly styled as 'divine' in the motivational clauses, the acclamation of him as *megas* (line 2) introduces a divine element: see Chaniotis (2011: 176).

64 Chaniotis (2011: 166–71).

65 Cioffi (2014: 3–5).

66 Mikalson (1998: 96). Holton (2014) argues instead for a serious agenda behind this mythological parentage. It is possible that the verses operate at both levels simultaneously; ambivalence is entirely consistent with the complexities of epiphany here discussed.

67 Petridou (2015: 34–7).

68 ἄλλοι μὲν ἢ μακρὰν γὰρ ἀπέχουσιν θεοὶ | ἢ οὐκ ἔχουσιν ὦτα | ἢ οὐκ εἰσίν ἢ οὐ προσέχουσιν ἡμῖν οὐδὲ ἕν | σὲ δὲ παρόνθ' ὁρῶμεν, | οὐ ξύλινον οὐδὲ λίθινον, ἀλλ' ἀληθινόν. | εὐχόμεσθα δή σοι· | πρῶτον μὲν εἰρήνην πόησον, φίλτατε· | κύριος γὰρ εἶ σύ.

69 Request for an oracular pronouncement: Plut. *Demetr*. 13.2.

70 Divine and heroic interventions against the Persians are prevalent in the traditions around the Persian Wars. Thus at Delphi in 480 BCE, see Hdt. 8.35–9 with

Mikalson (2003: 69); Harrison (2000: 94–5). The battle of Marathon is the locus of a number of epiphanies, on which see in general Kearns (1989: 44–6); Kron (1999: 62–5); Petridou (2015: 114–15).

71 See above, n. 20. The divine manifestations at Delphi in 279 BCE are depicted in terms consciously reminiscent of the preservation of Delphi from the Persians in 480 BCE. See Ameling (1996: 145–58); Scott (2014: 170–71).

72 Platt (2015: 497); Petridou (2015: 122–5).

73 On the connection of *asylia* and epiphany, Petridou (2015: 122). For *asylia* generally, Rigsby (1996) remains the fundamental survey.

74 As champions of Greek *eleutheria*: Polyperchon in 318: Diod. Sic. 18.64.3 cf. 18.55–6); Antigonus at Tyre in 315: Diod. Sic. 19. 61.4; Ptolemy I in 315 and 308: Diod. Sic. 19.62.1, 20.37.2 cf. Suda sv Δημήτριος ὁ Ἀντιγόνου. A close connection between *sōtēria* and *eleutheria* had existed since the time of the Persian Wars, particularly in cult: see Rosivach (1987: 262) for the inter-changeability of the epithets Soter and Eleutherios for the cult of Zeus in the Athenian agora from this period; Raaflaub (2004: 110).

75 *Eleutheria* was repeatedly invoked by the Greeks against Antipater of Macedon in the Lamian War: see for example *IG* ii^2 466, 467.

76 Dmitriev (2011: 112–41).

77 In addition to *Agora* 16.114 and *SEG* 25.149 (discussed above p. 82), see *SEG* 33.96; *IG* ii^2 469, 498.

78 Institution of the *Sōtēria* at Delphi: earliest attestation in *SIG*3 398 (278 BCE; the festival was subsequently reorganised by the Aetolians in the mid-240s). For the emphasis on *sōtēria* in the Gallic invasions, see Wallace (2011: 212–14). For campaigns under the banner of *eleutheria* in the post-Diadochan period, see Dmitriev (2011: 134–9).

79 Antigonus Gonatas became Soter after his defeat of the Gauls at Lysimachea in 277 BCE; for his institution of *Sōtēria* and *Paneia* festivals on Delos in 245 BCE as commemorations of this same victory, see Champion (2004/5). Antiochus I's claimed victory c. 275 BCE over Gauls is associated by App. *Syr*. 65.343 with his assumption of the epiclesis Sōtēr (perhaps, however, anachronistically: so Coşkun (2012: 69–70)). Ptolemy II Philadelphus' rather inglorious victory over rebellious Celts from his own army (Paus. 1.7.2) is transformed at Callim. *Hymn* 4.171ff into an episode that stands alongside Apollo's defence of Delphi and that helps to establish Ptolemy as Apollo's peer (his comparison of the Gauls to the Olympians' former foe, the Titans in line 174 aids this elevation); Callimachus further manages to suggest a soteric identity for Ptolemy II in this context, by describing him as belonging to the 'most high lineage of the Saviours' (*Hymn* 4.165–6), and indeed an association between Gallic defeat and cult status is suggested iconographically on a circular temple dedicated to Ptolemy II and Arsinoe in the 270s at Limyra, the decoration of which includes a relief depiction of a Gallic shield. Fighting the Gauls was integral to Attalid prestige, with Attalus I's victories over the Gauls in the late 230s and 220s BCE prompting him to assume both the title of king and the epiclesis *Sōtēr*: Polyb. 18.41.7.

80 Thus the cities likewise proclaimed their own participation in the struggles against the Gallic foe, with Athens no exception: Paus. 10.19.6, 21.5; *Syll.*^{3} 408.

81 Telmessus decree: Segre 1932; Mitchell 1993: 24–5. Eumenes' letter: *RC* 52.

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6 Violence in the dark

Emotional impact, representation, response

Angelos Chaniotis

Introduction

Any form of violence – individual and collective, private and public, spontaneous, planned, or ritualised, provoked and unprovoked, under the influence of religion, wine consumption, political ideas, social tensions, and individual passions – can take place at any time of the day or the night: rape, murder, fight, and robbery, the attack of pirates or the attack of troops against a city. And yet, acts of violence that take place between sunset and sunrise may acquire a different quality. As darkness shelters illegal actions, it increases the fear of threats that may pass unnoticed, and it multiplies unexpected dangers. Darkness also challenges the senses in a different manner than light: hearing, touching, and smelling become more important as vision's possibilities are diminished. Thus the human body's responses to external stimuli may be more intense, especially in periods in which the technology of artificial light is not advanced. Similarly, because night-time violence occurs during a period primarily associated with inertia – sleep and rest – or joy – the consumption of wine and erotic encounters – it is more strongly opposed to normal expectations.

For these reasons, the perception of violence, its emotional impact, and the individual and collective responses to it may differ depending on whether it occurs during the day or between dusk and dawn. When nocturnal acts of violence are narrated or represented in texts and images, they are subject to different considerations than aggression that takes place at daytime. And from the perspective of authorities concerned with defence and security, nocturnal violence presents a particular challenge.

Although nocturnal violence is a universal phenomenon, both the forms it takes and the responses to it vary depending on historical context and may be influenced by social, legal, and political conditions, cultural factors, religious beliefs, and technology. Nocturnal pirate attacks and nocturnal air-strikes are equally terrifying; but if, where, and when they are likely to occur, depend on the convergence of complex historical factors: technology, the political and social background of warfare, and moral and legal parameters. Masters are no longer murdered by their slaves in their sleep in today's Athens; instead, drug-related crime after sunset is certainly more common than when revellers were walking in the streets of Athens during the lifetime of Aristophanes and Plato.

Exactly as every aspect of the night can be historicised,[1] nocturnal aggression and violence can be studied in specific historical contexts and profit from comparative research. The aim of this study, part of more general research on night stories and a history of the night in Greek antiquity, is modest. It is devoted to three aspects of nocturnal violence: representation, emotional arousal, and responses. Its chronological limits, roughly from the fourth century BCE to the late second century CE, that is, during a 'long Hellenistic Age', are determined by the availability of sources and other considerations. For most of the Classical period our sources mainly provide information on Athens – historians, comic poets, orators, many inscriptions – and when they do refer to other cities (e.g. Thucydides), it is mainly in the context of wars. From the fourth century BCE, not only the number of documentary sources (inscriptions and later papyri), but also their diffusion in the entire Greek and Hellenised world, increases dramatically. In the first part of this period – from the conquests of Alexander to the establishment of Roman provincial administration – Greek society, institutions, and culture underwent considerable transformations due to the development of monarchy, the dominant role of benefactors, the homogenisation of institutions and culture, and massive migration and increased mobility. The first three centuries of this period also witnesses an increased number of wars.[2] For most of the population of Greece, Magna Graecia and Sicily, the Aegean Islands, Asia Minor, the coasts of the Black Sea, and the Near East, violence is a direct, omnipresent, and traumatic experience. The possibilities to study the reality and perception of, and responses to, nocturnal violence could not be better.

Representation and emotional impact

In the case of works of literature – epic poems, drama, and novels – authors chose the night as the stage of an act of violence in part because of real experiences and in part because of the possibilities this stage offers for suspense. As early as the *Iliad*, the nocturnal setting of an act of aggression – for instance, Dolon's episode (*Il.* 10.299–464) or the death of Rhesus (*Il.* 10. 465–502) – contributes to the dramatic impact of a narrative and to the characterisation of its protagonists. In the case of historiography, which primarily, if not exclusively, is the history of wars, the nocturnal setting is not a matter of staging; a historian's duty to present an accurate report obliges him to give the exact time of attacks, battles, and killings during a civil war. But the opportunities that a nocturnal setting offers for a dramatic narrative and emotional arousal were not to be neglected. The assassination of the Theban oligarchs in 379 BCE by seven young exiled citizens returning from Argos – a sequel of the *Seven against Thebes* – gives Xenophon an excellent opportunity to narrate a dramatic adventure and exploit the ritual background of contemporary rites of passage.[3] While the polemarchs celebrate a nocturnal festival of Aphrodite, the patron of magistrates in Greek cities, on the last day of the year (ἐπ᾽ ἐξόδῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς), the young Thebans enter the building dressed like prostitutes – a trick reminiscent of Theseus' Cretan adventures and

associated with ritual transvestism in ephebic rites of passage.[4] By killing the magistrates, the young Thebans liberate the city and at the same time they fulfil the act of bravery expected of ephebes in rites of passage for the admittance into citizenship. When day comes, the first day of the new year, Thebes is under their control. Within a night, the youths have become men, the ephebes citizens, the oligarchy a (moderate) democracy.

Xenophon's description of the arrival of the Athenian 'sacred' ship that announced the defeat at Aegospotami is another example of the possibilities offered to a historian by a night-time incident.[5]

> The Paralus arrived at Athens during the night, announcing the disaster (συμφορά), and a cry (οἰμωγή) arose in the Piraleus and ran up through the Long Walls and into the city as one man brought the news to the next. As a result, no one slept that night, mourning (πενθοῦντες) not only for the men who had been lost but even more for themselves, thinking they would suffer the same catastrophes they had inflicted on others.

The reader, informed that this incident took place during the night – traditionally associated with fear, anxiety, danger and death – is in a better position to understand the feelings of the Athenians.

Nocturnal attacks give a narrator the opportunity to introduce into the narrative sounds, thus increasing the vividness (*enargeia*) of his account.[6] We can observe this in two accounts in Plutarch's *Lives*, certainly based on the narratives of Hellenistic historians. In his *Life of Sulla*, Plutarch describes how Sulla captured Athens in the middle of the night. The sack takes place amid the horrifying sounds of trumpets, horns, war cries, and the shouts of the soldiers.[7] In the *Life of Aratus* 7.2–9.1, Plutarch describes the liberation of Sicyon by Aratus and a few exiled Sicyonians. The event occurred between the rise of the moon and the early morning. The narrator presents the conspirators walking under the moonshine (συμμέτρως τῇ περιφορᾷ τῆς σελήνης). When they reached the city-wall, the moon started setting (ἤδη δὲ δυομένης). The barking of dogs almost made them abandon their mission. The exiles approached the wall accompanied by the barking of the dogs (ἤδη τῶν κυναρίων εὐτόνως ὑλακτούντων), shortly before the early-morning watch was released (ὁ τὴν ἑωθινὴν φυλακὴν παραδιδούς). The change of guards caused more sounds: the sound of the guard's bell (ἐφώδευε κώδωνι) and the noise caused by the arriving soldiers (θόρυβος ἦν τῶν ἐπιπορευομένων). Fortunately, the cause of the loud barking of the dogs (κατεῖχεν ἤδη πολὺς ὑλαγμὸς τὸ χωρίον) was misunderstood, as the guards thought that it was caused by the sound of the bell and the torches of the guards. For that reason, the liberators managed to enter the city at the sound of cockcrows (ἤδη φθεγγομένων ἀλεκτρυόνων). The limited light at dawn contributed to the confusion. When the people spontaneously gathered in the theatre in the early morning (ἡμέρα μὲν ὑπέλαμπεν ἤδη) it was still unclear what had happened.

The emotive impact of the night explains also why orators in lawsuits, the proposers of decrees, and the authors of letters and petitions preserved in papyri

decided to include the information that an act of aggression or violence took place during the night.[8] In their case, the reference to the night is a matter of choice, not necessarily determined by the love of accuracy but by strategies of persuasion. This strategy of persuasion, never attested in any public document of the Archaic or Classical period, is very common in inscriptions of the Hellenistic period: in honorific decrees for people who saved a city or were killed during a nocturnal attack, and grave epigrams for soldiers who were killed during the night. In all these cases, we recognise a laudatory intention. That an incident took place during the night characterises the assailants as cowards, maximises the heroism of the defenders, increases the indignation for the act of violence, and makes the reader feel the fear of the sudden attack.

The earliest instance, to the best of my knowledge, is the decree of an Athenian deme in honour of elite soldiers (c. 319 BCE) who defended the city during an attack that took place during the night.[9]

> When during the night the enemies came close even to the city walls, they defeated them in a battle and threw them out, killing or capturing many of them; they stripped them of their weapons, which they dedicated on the acropolis.

The explicit reference to the fact that the attack occurred when the enemies were sheltered by darkness and could have remained unnoticed, increases the significance of the young soldiers' achievement: they not only defeated the enemies, but they did that because they were alert and responded in the appropriate manner.

Another early example is a decree of Samothrace honouring King Lysimachus for his response to a pirate attack against the sanctuary during the night (c. 287–281 BCE):[10]

> When those who committed acts of impiety towards the sanctuary attempted to take the votive offerings dedicated by the kings and the other Greeks, sought to burn the precinct of the gods, and jumped inside the sanctuary during the night (νύκτωρ) with the aim to commit acts of injustice and impiety against the sanctuary together with those who sailed with hostile intent at Pythagoras' orders during the night (ἐγ νυκτῶμ), the king arrived to this area and extradited them to the polis, asking with a letter that they receive the proper punishment.

What is necessary in a proposal to honour the king is to explain the nature of the crime, reveal the identity of the assailants, and mention the king's rescuing actions, not the time of the incident. The time is mentioned not once but twice, because this adds to the text's rhetorical quality. The nocturnal setting maximises the danger and the unexpected nature of the attack; the sanctuary of Samothrace was a place where torches burned in the night in order to offer light to banquets[11] not to set the precinct aflame. The nocturnal setting characterises the assailants as cowards, in addition to their being impious, lawless, and barbarous. In this way,

the orator ignites the indignation of the readers. The nocturnal setting also had a legal implication, since Greek law had more severe punishment for crimes committed during the night (see below).

That the time of an act of violence is mentioned for rhetorical reasons is very clear also in a decree of Olbia for a local statesman, victim of enemies of democracy in the early first century BCE.[12] Part of the text is only restored but the reference to the night is not:

> For this reason the enemies feared the unbreakable strength of his virtue and did not have the courage to openly attack him, but instead they ambushed him by night and murdered him. In response to this, the people seeing this sudden calamity – that the city had lost a virtuous citizen – was deeply grieved because of his goodness and repulsed because of the cruel manner of his death.

Who and how many were the enemies? Was the killing avenged? This is not stated in the text. That the murder took place in the night is, and we do not have to speculate about the reasons. The reference to the night is part of the orator's effort to demonstrate the enemies' cowardice: they were afraid (δείσα[ντες]), they lacked courage (οὐκ [ἐθ]άρρησαν), they ambushed (ἐνεδρεύσαντες), they killed the man with cunningness and treachery, with δόλος (ἐδο[λοφ]όνη[σαν); and just in case the audience in the assembly and the readers of the inscription still had doubts about the despicable nature of the enemies, the orator adds that they were covered by the darkness of the night.

In cases such as the above an explicit reference to the night functions as an enhancer of emotional responses. It magnifies the emotional impact of a narrative. The following texts show how common this strategy of persuasion and emotional arousal became in the course of the Hellenistic period. An honorific decree from Aegeale (late third century BCE) refers to a sudden attack of pirates. This was a horrifying and traumatic incident in itself; but by adding the detail that it occurred during the night,[13] the author of the decree, who had presented it in an oration in the assembly, increased the *enargeia* of his report and the dramatic qualities of the narrative.[14]

> During the night pirates landed in our territory capturing unmarried and married women and other persons, both free and slaves – a total of more than thirty persons; they destroyed the ships in the harbour and captured the ship of Dorieus, with which they departed carrying away both the persons and the rest of the booty. When this occurred, Hegesippus and Antipappus, the sons of Hegesistratus, who were among the captives, jointly persuaded the leader of the pirates, Socleidas, who was sailing along with them, to release the free persons, also some of the freedmen and the slaves, while they offered themselves as hostages.

The information that the attack had occurred during the night was not meant for those who had experienced the fearful attack and had lived in anxiety until the ransom was finally paid. It is addressed to the assembly and to future readers, in

order to give them a sense of the horror of that night, thus enlarging the contribution of those who remained calm and saved the day – or rather the night.

In addition to honorific decrees, references to the nocturnal setting of an attack is found in grave epigrams. Their rhetorical function is the same. An early example is the grave epigram for men who died defending Thelphousa in Arcadia in the late fourth or early third century:[15]

> These men, Thelphousa, performed deeds that are worthy of you and of Hellas, fighting for their fatherland. For in the middle of the night they drove away the army of the enemies that had gone beyond the barrier of the furthermost towers and after they had covered many enemies with blood, they died, saving the good laws of our fathers.

In the aforementioned texts references to the night function as an acoustic signal that arouses the feeling of fear, was combined with anger against the assailants, and followed by relief for the happy end and gratitude for the protagonists.[16] When everything seemed lost and darkness increased the fear, confusion, and insecurity, rescue was provided by the courage of a few good men. The emotional impact of references to nocturnal aggression aroused admiration and justified honours.

Violent death during the night appears also in grave epigrams that do not intend to praise but to lament; the reference to the night remains a strategy of emotional arousal. We may observe this in a grave epigram that commemorates the death of a young man during a street-fight in Thyrrheum in Acarnania, probably in the late second century BCE, when the city was attacked during the night.[17]

> Neither my unfortunate father, strangers, nor my mother saw me approaching the wedding chamber; instead they saw me perish at the merciless hand of a man, during the night in the city, during the destructive battle. Twenty-five years old, I, Nicarchus, the son of the wise Xenon, dwell together with the initiates, without repaying my debt of gratitude to my parents. Great Hades, may you soon destroy that man who killed me.

In this case, the victim was placed in his grave without seeing his death avenged. The identity of the man who killed him remained unknown, concealed by the darkness of the night. In private life, the reference to crimes during the night had a similar emotive function. It made the crime – murder or theft – appear more repugnant. This practice is attested both in grave inscriptions and in papyri. An Attic inscription of the third century CE is a characteristic example. Sozon, the victim of murder, appears speaking from his grave.[18]

> I, Sozon, lie here, a respected man. I was struck down by three men, but I received revenge from all men during the night. I was 27 years old.

The fact that the dead man himself addresses the passer-by and reports on the crime – like the victim of murder in Kurosawa's *Rasomon* – gives his testimony

credibility. The dead man's voice is manipulated by the poet,[19] who creates the illusion that we are listening to Sozon's voice. The addressee of the poem is Sozon as much as the passer-by. The inscription eternally reminds the victim that his death, collectively condemned by 'all men', has been avenged. The passer-by's indignation is aroused by the fact that the young Sozon was attacked by three men. The author of the epigram makes sure to mention that justice was served; Sozon's spirit can now rest. Two details are significant: the universal indignation that Sozon's death caused and that the crime was punished without delay, in the same night that it occurred, presumably through the death of the assailants. The reference to the collective feeling invites the reader to join this emotional community of indignation for the crime and pity for the young man.[20] The nocturnal setting adds a dramatic and emotional quality to the report. More importantly: a crime during the night was subject to more severe punishment (see below).

Another epigram, this time from Amyzon, uses the same technique of emotional arousal: the victim of murder speaks from the grave, narrates his own death, and expresses satisfaction for the punishment of the murderer through crucifixion:[21]

> Demetrius, mourned by all, whom sweet sleep held and the nectarous drink of Bromius [Dionysus]; slain by the hands of a slave and in great conflagration burnt together with his house, I came to Hades, whilst my father, sibling and elderly mother received to their bosoms bones and ashes; but the one who did such things to me my fellow-citizens crucified alive for the wild beasts and birds.

As in the previous poem, the text establishes an emotional community: the deceased was πᾶσιν δακρυτός, everybody wept for his death. An additional element is the contrast between sweet sleep and particularly heinous crime, and, of course, the fact that the murderer was a slave – possibly during the War of Aristonicus. Finally, another nocturnal murder is narrated in the grave epigram of the Christian priest Theophilus in Iconium (sixth/seventh century), 'who was beheaded during the night with a mace' (νύκτωρ τὴν κεφαλὴν καταπελεκισθεὶς ἐν σκεπαρνῷ) by Constantinus, the child that he had taken in his house and raised (ὃν ἐδέξατό τε καὶ ἔτρεφεν).[22] What Theophilus received in exchange for his kindness was a painful death and eternal mourning (τέλος ὀδυνηρὸν καὶ θρῆνον ἐπ᾽ αἰῶνα παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐδέξατο). The ingratitude of the foundling arouses the reader's indignation, the committing of the crime during the night contempt for the murderer's cowardice. The emotional response to nocturnal violence is closely connected with the legal and institutional responses, to which I now turn.

Nocturnal violence and the law

An inscription from Cnidus narrates an incident that occurred during a night in this city, during Augustus' principate (6 BCE). The narrator is Augustus himself, who had been informed about it, when a man accused for murder appealed to the emperor. A certain Philinus gathered some friends and attacked the house of a

personal (or political?) enemy, Euboulus, three nights long. No longer tolerating the harassment, in the third night Euboulus ordered one of his slaves to take a chamber pot and empty its content on the assailants' heads. Unfortunately, the pot fell off the slave's hands killing one of the assailants. As a consequence, Euboulus faced charges for murder. Augustus' verdict was telling:[23]

> I learned that Philinus, son of Chrysippus, had attacked the house of Euboulus and Tryphera for three nights in succession with violence and in the manner of a siege . . . I am amazed that you do not show indignation against those who deserved to suffer every punishment, since they attacked another's house three times at night with violence and force and were destroying the common security of all.

Attributing great importance to protection during the night (see below), Augustus unambiguously expresses his indignation that someone was put on trial for defending his own house during the night. In doing this, Augustus was following an old tradition, both Greek and Roman, according to which those who committed acts of violence and theft during the night deserved more severe punishment than if the act had been committed during the day or even the death penalty.[24]

The Twelve Tables permitted the killing of a thief caught in the act during the night.[25] In Classical Athens, theft during the day of more than fifty drachmas resulted in immediate arrest; the thief was delivered to the Eleven to be punished with death. But if a thief stole anything, however small, by night, the victim had the right to kill or wound him himself; this law was attributed to Solon.[26] Against this background, Plato laid down in his *Laws* that if someone catches a thief who had entered his house during the night to commit robbery and kills him, he is free of impurity (*katharos*).[27] A Hellenistic law from Stymphalus (c. 300 BCE) stipulates:

> When someone steals something from a house or commits theft during the night, let him be killed without punishment.[28]

Similarly, in accordance with the Alexandrian laws,

> when someone commits an injury to the person while drunk, or by night or in a sanctuary or in the market, he shall pay twice the amount of the prescribed penalty.[29]

Already in the Hellenistic period we find references to nocturnal assaults in letters and petitions in Egypt. A few selected petitions demonstrate the interest in this detail. The correspondence of Diophanes, *stratēgos* (governor) of the Sebennyte nome during the reign of Ptolemy II, contains a relevant document. Diophanes received a complaint from Berenice and Panchoes, who had been attacked at night (νυκτός) by a band of robbers (ληιστήριον), while they were watching the grapes on a holding belonging to them near Sebennytus. Panchoes was wounded during the attack. They were unable to notify the police (*phylakitai*) until two days later;

three nights later they were again attacked with violence.[30] In 240 BCE Dositheus complained that some people attacked him during the night and set fire to his stable.[31] In Berenicis Thesmophorou, Adymus reported to the village scribe that some people came with hostile intentions to his stall in the night, opened the building in the court, and left taking away a mill and sheep (183 BCE).[32]

It is not possible to establish whether the reference to the time of the violent attack aimed at creating the impression of accuracy, or had a 'rhetorical' function – a nocturnal attack frees its victim from the potential accusation of negligence or lack of caution – or amplified the weight of the crime. Perhaps all of the above factors contributed to the petitioners' intention to establish that the crime was committed during the night.

Responses

Night-time violence in its different forms – war, crime, private fights – was a painful experience for the populations of the Greek urban centres and the countryside from Homeric times onwards. This made safety measures necessary, for instance night watches in military camps. From the fourth century BCE the relevant information becomes more abundant. In part this is due to the fact that we have more sources. But in part it is due to an increased awareness of the problems, as the number of wars and civil wars increased. Technical treatises on strategy are a case in point. They appear at a time in which war had become more sophisticated, with new siege techniques and specialised troops, and they directly address the efficient protection of cities during the night. In the fourth century BCE, a new type of technical treatise – focused on tactics – recommended the organisation of night watches.[33] When in the mid-fourth century BCE Aeneas Tacticus recommended the formation of night watches (νυκτοφυλακεῖσθαι), he was not inventing a measure for the first time, but he was recommending its application to military officials in whose cities this measure did not exist. Also the use of watchdogs in forts and fortifications recommended by Aeneas[34] was not an innovation, but the explicit praise for commanders who did keep watchdogs presupposes the existence of the neglectful officers who did not.[35]

It cannot simply be attributed to the epigraphic habit or to the abundance of sources that this and similar measures are only attested in documentary sources from the Hellenistic period on. Tomis is a characteristic example. A decree around 100 BCE, during difficult times, introduced a measure that did not exist before: it created a special guard of forty men, who were assigned the task to patrol the city, guard the gates day and night, and spend the night near the gates (παρακοιτήσοντας τὰς νύκτας).[36] Mesambria, another city on the west coast of the Black Sea, had day and night patrols (φύλακες ἀμερινοί, φύλακες νυκτερινοί, περίοδοι) in the late second and first centuries BCE, but we do not know when this institution was introduced.[37] Conceivably, new safety measures in one city functioned as trend-setters and led to analogous measures in other cities.

The impulse for better organised police duties in Hellenistic cities may have come from royal capitals. Ptolemaic Alexandria had the office of the *nyktostratēgos*

('general of the night'); however, we do not know how early this office was established.[38] It may have served as the model for the analogous offices of the 'general of the night' (νυκτοστρατηγός, διὰ νυκτὸς στρατηγός, νυκτερινὸς στρατηγός) that are attested in Asia Minor, especially in coastal cities that had been under Ptolemaic control for part of the third century BCE.[39] In Roman Egypt the office of the *nyktostratēgos* was a liturgy.[40] A papyrus refers to a *nyktostratēgos* in Alexandria or Antinoopolis who assigned a *phylax* to guard a house during the night, apparently for the protection of a girl.[41]

In the Imperial period, in addition to the *nyktostrategoi*, also 'night watchmen' (νυκτοφύλακες) were assigned police duties. They are often attested in the eastern provinces, especially in Asia Minor, Egypt, and Palestine,[42] but not in Greece. Only Apuleius mentions a *praefectus nocturnae custodiae* in Hypata, who allegedly inspected the town methodically, moving from house to house.[43] In Egypt the νυκτοφύλακες were commanded by ἀρχινυκτοφύλακες. Most of the evidence comes from cities and villages from the second to the fourth century CE.[44] Both the function of the chief night sentry and that of the watchmen were liturgies, usually undertaken for a year. This increased interest in night-time protection in urban centres may have been influenced by the measures taken by Augustus in Rome, that is, the introduction of *vigiles* in 6 CE.[45]

The explicit designation of these positions as offices specifically dedicated to policing during the night reveals an unprecedented awareness of nocturnal safety issues and the determination of the authorities to address them.

The Greeks were, of course, aware of the fact that excessive wine consumption could lead to trouble. We do not know of limitations concerning the selling of wine during the night as in Roman Palestine,[46] but the statutes of voluntary associations addressed this issue. The – typically nocturnal – gatherings and rituals of private clubs were often disturbed by quarrels, especially after the consumption of wine.[47] The statutes of a club of worshippers of Hercules in Athens (c. 100 CE) state:

> if anyone engages in a fight in the association, on the following day the one who started the fight shall pay a fine of ten drachmas; the one who joined it shall pay five drachmas.

The cult association of the Athenian Iobacchi, worshippers of Dionysus, faced serious problems of internal strife during the gatherings, until the statutes were reformed in the late second century CE to guarantee convivial gatherings free of insults and bleeding noses.[48] They were dedicated to Dionysus in a peaceful and orderly manner:

> No one is allowed to sing, to be loud or applaud in the dining room; the distribution (of wine) should take place in an orderly and quiet manner under the instructions of the priest or the chief Bacchus . . . If someone starts a quarrel or does not behave properly or goes to another bed or insults someone or uses defamatory words, the victim of the insult or of the defamation should

> present as witnesses two members, who can declare under oath that they have heard how this person has been insulted and defamed; and the one who has insulted or defamed shall pay to the club 25 drachmas as a fine. And the one who has started a quarrel should pay the same amount of 25 drachmas; these persons are not allowed to attend the gathering of the Iobacchi until they have paid the fine. And if someone reaches the point of striking others, the member who has been struck will submit a written accusation to the priest or the vice priest, who is then obliged to call an assembly; and the Iobacchi should pass a judgement upon vote under the guidance of the priest, and in addition to any other punishment they should determine the period during which the convict will not be allowed to attend the gatherings, and a fine of up to 25 denarii. And the person who has been beaten will be subject to the same punishment, if he publicly accuses him, instead of declaring the incident to the priest or the chief Bacchus. The person responsible for order who neglects to expel those who quarrel will be subject to the same punishment.

Pre-existing tensions among the members received additional input from wine consumption and led to quarrels, insults, and open violence during the regular meetings. The club was interested in keeping these tensions unnoticed by others:

> A *eukosmos* ('the man responsible for good order') shall be elected by lot or appointed by the priest. He shall bring to those who behave in a disorderly manner or makes trouble the distaff of the god; the one to whom the distaff is brought should leave the dining place, if the priest or the president of the club consents. If he disobeys, the 'horses' (a kind of club police) who will be appointed by the priests shall carry him outside of the gate and he should be liable to the fines determined for those who are engaged in fights.

Similar problems are known to have existed in associations as well, as we may infer from references to the necessity of concord, prohibitions against quarrels, and the existence of officers responsible for order.[49] A cult association in Physkus, which celebrated nocturnal rites for Dionysus (c. 150 CE), provides for severe fines for the members, the maenads and 'shepherds' (*boukoloi*), who would stand up (from the couches) with hostile intention and insult others.[50]

Conclusions

Did more violence take place during the night than during the day in Greek antiquity? Quantitative research is not possible in this area, and parallels from west European cities in the early modern period are of limited help.[51] Since most battles in wars took place during the day, we can assume that, from the Persian Wars to the battle of Actium, more people found a violent death under the sun than in the darkness; but even this general impression may be deceiving, since ancient historians more often provide casualty numbers for daytime battles, when the approximate size of the engaged troops were known. Usually we

lack numbers for the people killed or captured during the looting of a fallen city, during a conspiracy and a civil war, during a pirate attack, or during the attack of brigands – and many such events are not even mentioned in our sources.

Did wives murder their husbands and slaves their masters during the night more often than during the day?[52] Since the night offers its protection to weak or suppressed people, this would not be surprising, but such an impression cannot be confirmed through quantitative data. Did the level of violence increase because of the frequency of wars during the Hellenistic period and did it decrease after the establishment of the *pax Romana*? It is probable, but this impression, based on limited sources – since most of Hellenistic historiography is lost – is subject to limitations. Wars between Greek cities and Hellenistic kingdoms, the wars of the Roman expansion in Greece and Asia Minor, the civil wars of the Late Republic stopped, and piracy in the eastern Mediterranean eclipsed, but forms of violence that are likely to have taken place during the night – such as brigandage in Asia Minor, political conflicts in Greek cities, and violent ethnic conflicts in Alexandria – continued.[53]

Although the quantitative aspects of nocturnal violence are as dark as Greek nights, receiving only some indirect light, what the sources do reveal is the rhetorical exploitation of the night as a setting of acts of aggression and violence. The mention of the words νύκτωρ, νυκτί, and their synonyms function as acoustic signals for emotional arousal. They evoke fear, maximise the dramatic impact of a narrative, and characterise the aggressors as cowards, the victims as worthy of compassion, and the defenders as heroic. Although the Greek political and military authorities were aware of the potential dangers during the night and of the necessary safety measures (patrols, night sentries), a systematic effort to prevent or avert nocturnal violence can only be observed during the late Hellenistic period and then during the Imperial period.

Notes

1 Schivelbusch (1988); Delattre (2000); Ekirch (2005); Cabantous (2009); Koslofsky (2011); Bourdin (2013); Wishnitzer (2014); Chaniotis (forthcoming).
2 Chaniotis (2005).
3 Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.2–8. For an analysis see Schmitzer (1998).
4 Theseus dressed two of his male companions in his trip to Crete as girls: Plut. *Thes.* 23.2–3. On ritual transvestism, see Leitao (1995).
5 Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.3.
6 On the interest of Hellenistic orators and historians on *enargeia* see Chaniotis (2013a and 2013b).
7 Cf. Plut. *Sull.* 14.3: περὶ μέσας νύκτας εἰσήλαυνε, φρικώδης ὑπό τε σάλπιγξι καὶ κέρασι πολλοῖς ἀλαλαγμῷ καὶ κραυγῇ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐφ᾽ ἁρπαγὴν καὶ φόνον ἀφειμένης ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ.
8 Orators: e.g. Lys. *Against Simon* 6. For papyri see below notes 31–4.
9 *IG* ii² 1209.
10 *IG* xii 8 150 ll. 4–16: [τ]οὺς ἀσεβήσαντας εἰς τὸ ἱερὸγ καὶ | [ἐ]γχειρήσαντας συλῆσαι τὰ ἀναθήματα | [τ]ὰ ἀνατεθέντα [ὑ]πὸ τῶμ βασιλέωγ καὶ | [τ]ῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνωγ καὶ ζητήσαντας | [ἐμ]πρῆσαι τὸ τέμενος τῶν θεῶν καὶ | [εἰσ]πηδήσαντας νύκτωρ ἐπ᾽ ἀδικίαι | [καὶ] ἀσεβείαι τοῦ ἱεροῦ μετὰ τῶν ἐπι|[πλ]ευσάντων ἐγ νυκτῶμ παρὰ | [Πυ]θαγόρου,

παραγενόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺ[ς] | [εἰ]ς τοὺς τόπους δέδωκεν ἐγδότους | [τ]ῇι πόλει καὶ ἀφέσταλκε πρὸς τὸν | [δῆμ]ον, ὅπως τύχωσι τῆς προσηκού|[ση]ς τιμωρίας.

11 Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* 3.171: λαμπάδος ἑσπερίης τανύων ἐπιδόρπιον αἴγλην.

12 *IOSPE* I² 17: διὸ καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι, τὸ ἀνυπόστατον αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀρετῆς δείσα[ντες, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ φανεροῦ] οὐκ [ἐθ]άρρησαν ἐπιβαλεῖν, ἐνεδρεύσαντες δὲ αὐτὸν νύκτ<ω>ρ ἐδο[λοφ]όνη[σαν· ὥστε ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ δῆμο]ς, αἰφνίδιον σ<υ>μφορὰν θεασάμενος, τῆς πόλεως ἀποβεβλημένη[ς ἀ]γαθὸν [πολείτην, χαλεπῶς μὲ]ν ἤνενκεν τὸ πένθος αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν χρηστότητα, ἐπαχθῶς δὲ διὰ τὴ[ν τοῦ θανάτου ὠμότητα].

13 That pirates attack during the night is a *topos* (e.g. Chariton, *Chaereas and Calirrhoe* 8.8.1) inspired by reality.

14 Bielman (1994: no. 38).

15 *IG* v 2 412: ἄξια σοῦ, Θέλφουσα, καὶ Ἑλλάδος ἄνυσαν ἔργα | μαρνάμενοι πάτρας οἵδε περὶ σφετέρας· | ἦ γὰρ ἔσω νυκτὸς πυμάτας ὑπὲρ ἕρκεα πύργων | βάντα κατ᾽ ἀκροτάτων ἤλασαν ἑκτὸς ἄρη | δυσμενέων, πολλοὺς δὲ δι᾽ αἵματος ἐκτανύσαντες | [κάτ]θανον εὐνομίαν ῥυσάμενοι πατέρων.

16 On the emotive function of acoustic signals in ancient texts see Chaniotis (2009: 200; 2012: 114); cf. Sanders (2012: 363).

17 *IG* ix² 1 2 313: οὔ με πατήρ, ὦ ξεῖνοι, ὁ δύσμορος οὐδέ με μάτηρ | νυμφιδίων θαλάμων ἕδρακον ἁπτόμενον, | ἀλλὰ πάρος διὰ νύκτα κατὰ πτόλιν Ἄρεϊ λυγρῶι | φωτὸς ὑπὸ στυγερᾶς οὐλόμενον παλάμας· | εἰκοσιπενταέτης δὲ γόνος πινυτοῖο Ξένωνος | Νίκαρχος μύσταις ἄμμιγα ναιετάω | οὐδὲ γονεῦσιν ἑοῖς ἀποδοὺς χάριν· ὦ μέγας Ἅιδα, | τόν με κατακτείναντ᾽ αἶψα καταστορέσαις. Polybius mentions a much earlier Aetolian attack against Thyrreum during the night in 219 BCE (4.25.3: ἐπὶ Θύριον νυκτὸς ἔτι καὶ προσβαλεῖν τολμήσαιεν τῇ πόλει).

18 *IG* ii² 12701: ἐνθάδε ἐγὼ κεῖ|μαι. Σώζων | κλεινὸς ἀνὴρ | ὑπ᾽ ἀνδράσι τρι|σί τε τυφθεὶς | καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων | ἀνδρῶν ἐκ|δικίας νυκτὸς | τετυχηκώς· | ἦν γὰρ ἔτη κὰ|μοὶ ἑπτά τε | καὶ κ´.

19 On this poetic device see Casey (2004), cf. Chaniotis (2016: 96 and 105).

20 On the creation of emotional community through inscriptions see Chaniotis (2016).

21 Robert and Robert (1983: 259–63); Llewelyn (1998: 1–3) (translation).

22 Bönisch and Wörrle (2013).

23 *I.Knidos* 34: ἔγνων Φιλεῖνον τὸν Χρυσίππου τρεῖς νύκτας συνεχῶς ἐπεληλυθότα τῆι οἰκίᾳ τῆι Εὐβούλου καὶ Τρυφέρας μεθ᾽ ὕβρεως καὶ τρόπωι τινὶ πολιορκίας . . . ἐθαύμαζον δ᾽ ἄν, πῶς . . . μὴ κατὰ τῶν ἀξίων πᾶν ὁτιοῦν παθεῖν, ἐπ᾽ ἄλλο[τρίαν] οἰκίαν νύκτωρ μεθ᾽ ὕβρεως καὶ βίας τρὶς ἐπεληλυ[θό]των καὶ τὴν κοινὴν ἁπάντων ὑμῶν ἀσφάλειαν [ἀναι]ρούντων ἀγανακτοῦντες. For an analysis of the legal aspects of this text, see Karabatsou (2010).

24 For the right to slay the domestic intruder in early modern Europe: Ekirch (2005: 86–7).

25 *XII Tab.* 2.4.

26 D. 24.113.

27 Pl. *Leg.* 874b-c: νύκτωρ φῶρα εἰς οἰκίαν εἰσόντα ἐπὶ κλοπῇ χρημάτων, ἐὰν ἑλὼν κτείνῃ, καθαρὸς ἔστω.

28 *IPArk* 17: εἰκ ἐξ οἰ[κίας] κλέπτοι ἢ ἰσφωρέοι νύκτωρ, [ἀ]προθανέτω ἄτιμος.

29 *PHal.* 1 ll. 193–5 (259 BCE): ὅταν τις τῶν εἰς τὸ σῶ[μ]α ἀδικημάτ[ων] μεθύων ἢ νύκτωρ ἢ ἐν ἱερῶι ἢ ἐν ἀγορᾶι ἀδικήσηι, διπλασί[αν] τὴν ζημίαν ἀποτεισάτω τῆς γεγραμμένης.

30 Mahaffy and Smyly (2013: 59–60, no. xxviii).

31 Mahaffy and Smyly (2013: 72, no. xxxiv).

32 *P Teb.* III.1 793r col. I 23–8; see Bernini (2010: 171–4): ἐπελθόντες τινὲς [τῆι νυ]κτὶ τῆι φερούσηι εἰς τὴν β´ [τοῦ Τῦ]βι ἐπὶ τὸν ὑπάρχοντά μοι σταθμὸν [ἤνοιξ]αν τὸν ἐν τῆι αὐλῆι οἴκημα καὶ ὄχοντο [ἔχοντ]ες μύλαιον ἓν ὃ τιμῶμαι δρ. φ´ καὶ ἐκ [τῆς α]ὐλῆς προβάτια γ´ ἄξια δρ. χ´.

33 E.g. Aen. Tact. 22.3 (*nyktophylakeisthai*). On the emergence of military handbooks see Burliga (2008).

34 Aeneas Tacticus 22.14.

35 Chaniotis (2005: 35, 121, 140).
36 *Syll.*[3] 731 = *I.Tomis* 2 ll. 14–16; Brélaz (2005: 83).
37 *IGBulg* I[2] 324; V 5103; Brélaz (2005: 83).
38 Strabo 17.1.12; Hennig (2002: 288–9, with note 34); Brélaz (2005: 80).
39 The evidence has been collected by Brélaz (2005: 79–84).
40 Hennig (2002: 289–95); Drecoll (1997: 158–9, 258, 279); Homoth-Kuhs (2005: 76–7).
41 *P.Oxy.* VI 933 (third century CE); on this text see Homoth-Kuhs (2005: 76–7); Hennig (2002: 284).
42 For Asia Minor, see the evidence in Brélaz (2005: 82–3); Brélaz assumes that the *nyktophylakes* were commanded by the *nyktostrategoi*; this is possible but not certain. In Egypt they were commanded by an *archinyktophylax*; for Egypt see Fuhrmann (2012: 67 and 77). On Palestine, see Sperber (1970).
43 Apuleius, *Metam.* 3.3. Fuhrmann (2012: 57).
44 Hennig (2002: 285–8); Homoth-Kuhs (2005: 66–7); Fuhrmann (2012: 77–8, 85–6, 130–31); cf. the ἡμεροφύλακες mainly attested in Thebes in the second century CE: Hennig (2002: 285).
45 Fuhrmann (2012: 116–18). According to Appian Augustus introduced *nyktophylakes* in 36/35 BCE: App. *B Civ.* 5.132.547; cf. Fuhrmann (2012: 101–2).
46 Sperber (1970).
47 Arnaoutoglou (2003: 101–2 and 156).
48 *IG* ii[2] 1368; Baslez (2004: 118–20); Arnaoutoglou (2016).
49 Concord: *IG* ii[2] 4985. Quarrels: *IG* ii[2] 1369 lines 40–41; *SEG* 31.122; Lupu (2005: 177–90, no. 5) (Athens, c. 121 CE).
50 *IG* ix[2] 1.670 lines 8–16: μενάδα μαινάδι μὴ ἐπεγερθῆνε μηδὲ λοιδορῆσε· ὁσαύτως μήτε βουκόλον ἐπεγερθῆνα[ι] μήτε λοιδορῆσε· ἐὰν δέ τις, δώσι τῷ κοινῷ καθ' ἓν ῥῆμα προστίμου δ(ρ.) δ΄.
51 Ekirch (2005: 37–40, robberies, 256–8, insurgence); Cabantous (2009: 152–90, crime and dissidence).
52 For early modern Europe see Ekirch (2005: 283–4).
53 For Alexandria see e.g. Ameling (2003). For brigandage see Grünewald (1999) and Riess (2001).

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7 Compassion and violence in Hellenistic New Comedy

The case of Terence's *Self-Tormentor*

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Introduction: compassion and empathic concern

In Hellenistic New Comedy, as known from Menander and his Roman adaptors, the differential capacity to perpetrate and suffer physical violence serves as an index of social status. Whereas free men can torture and threaten slaves and pimps and (in some cases) sexually assault free women, citizen men are (mostly) immune from corporeal violence in comedy's domestic setting (provided they are not taken in adultery). At the same time, however, comedy shows that all characters, irrespective of status, are vulnerable to emotional violence and trauma, to the pain of loss, betrayal, and abandonment. More precisely, the comedies associate emotional and sometimes physical violence with failures of compassion or, as it is also called, empathic concern.[1] That said, there is only one extant comedy, Terence's *Self-Tormentor* (based on Menander's play of the same name), that explicitly problematises the failure of compassion as a cause of intra-familial violence.

Before turning to the *Self-Tormentor*, it will be useful to offer some definitions and clarifications of the English language emotion labels I will be using. For purposes of this study, I treat empathic concern and compassion as synonyms defined as 'the feeling that arises' in response to 'another's suffering that motivates a subsequent desire to help'.[2] Compassion and empathic concern so understood can, on occasion, overlap with 'pity'. While pity and compassion both arise in response to another being's suffering, they differ in terms of peripheral appraisals and action tendencies.[3] For example, pity often involves a judgment of blame and does not necessarily lead to helping behaviour (see further below).

Empathic concern and compassion, however, should be differentiated from empathy, a term that has become slippery if not downright elusive due to the diverse conceptualisations currently in use.[4] Most commonly, empathy denotes either the process of emotion sharing (feeling with another person's experience or emotional contagion) or mentalising about another person's experience or emotions (cognitive empathy or affective perspective taking).[5] Although both forms of empathy can and often do lead to empathic concern, that outcome is far from automatic.[6] In fact, New Comedy provides a wealth of evidence that cognitive empathy has no intrinsic connection with prosocial emotions or behaviour.

For instance, slaves are expert at imagining how their masters are likely to think and feel in given situations.[7] Far from triggering compassion, this form of empathy or mindreading allows slaves to protect their own welfare rather than to assist their masters.

Finally, while there are Greek and Latin terms that can at times capture compassion or empathic concern, the approach adopted here is not primarily lexical.[8] New Comedy specialises in depicting characters in the sway of emotional response; it is no exaggeration to say that without emotions, there would be no comic drama. That said, the plays do not always provide labels for the affective experiences they portray.[9] Accordingly, rather than focusing solely on emotion words, I follow the lead of recent scholars who advocate the study of emotion scripts or scenarios, an approach that facilitates cross-cultural analysis.[10] On this model, there is no need to determine whether a given emotion label, e.g. compassion, has a precise equivalent in either Greek or Latin. Instead, the analytic emphasis falls on the situations that elicit an emotional response, the appraisals made by the character or person having the emotional response, their responses – i.e. the action tendency – and other forms of display behaviour.[11] Viewing the emotions in this light, as scripts or mini-dramatic narratives, is obviously apropos for dealing with the emotions in comic drama.[12] As we will see below, the *Self-Tormentor* opens by staging a compassion script that operates programmatically to prime the audience for this affective experience and alerts them to its importance in the comedy as a whole.[13]

Before examining the *Self-Tormentor*'s unusual portrayal of compassion, it will be helpful to recall that failures of compassion correlated with violence in New Comedy are not usually problematised as such; to put it another way, incidents that might be considered compassion errors from a modern perspective are often normalised rather than considered errors or lapses. For one thing, in Classical and Hellenistic culture there were some people whose welfare counted less than others. For instance, in Terence's *Adelphoe*, Aeschines abducts a freeborn girl from the pimp Sannio on the grounds that the girl is freeborn and hence illegally enslaved. In the process of doing so, he and his slave drag Sannio from his house and beat him repeatedly, or so Sannio complains (198–209). Although Sannio is a free person and such behaviour technically illegal, it is sanctioned in the play due to Sannio's role as a pimp. Because he belongs to a despised social class, characters neither value his welfare nor recognise him as a being with his own centre of experience, let alone someone with legal standing. Even the slave Parmeno hits this particular free man with impunity.[14]

The (reported) violence in this scene – and the complete lack of both empathy and empathic concern for Sannio – is consistent with the notion that people block empathy for members of outgroups and undesirable social categories.[15] While downgrading empathy does not always or even usually lead to violence, it can certainly pave the way for it, as in the comic scene.[16] Much of the violence against slaves in New Comedy can be understood in this light, although it is more complicated since, unlike pimps, slaves were simultaneously members of the family and members of an outgroup. Consequently, violence against slaves might be

condoned or implicitly condemned by the action of a given comedy, depending on who seeks to perpetrate it and why.[17]

The instance of domestic violence in Menander's *Perikeiromenē* (*Shorn Girl*) is also one in which the issue of empathic concern is a moot point. In the comedy, Polemon, a mercenary officer, cuts off his girlfriend Glycera's hair in a fit of jealousy after learning from his slave that she embraced a neighbour; unbeknownst to Polemon and his slave, (but not to Glycera), the neighbour is really her long lost brother. Although Glycera believes that Polemon committed an act of *hybris* against her, an outrageous and status harming act, which in this case must have involved some amount of force, he gets away with it due to Glycera's unusual social position at the time; she is temporarily outside the patriarchal kinship structure, meaning that she has no male guardian to stand up for her.[18] Accordingly, she does the only thing she can do: she leaves Polemon's house and takes shelter with the neighbour woman Myrrhine, the presumed mother of her brother (the would-be seducer). This, of course, further incenses Polemon, leading him to plot additional egregious acts of violence to extract Glycera from the house. In the course of the play, however, he learns to restrain his violent impulses and to recognise the polis' power to define injuries and dole out punishments (500–503).

While it may be obvious that Polemon had no empathy or empathic concern for Glycera when he cut her hair off, this is not how the comedy problematises his behaviour and emotional response. Rather, it focuses on his rashness as a dispositional tendency to give in to violent emotions, primarily anger and jealousy (987). In the happy resolution, which is made possible specifically because Glycera is able to let go of her grievance, Pataecus explicitly advises Polemon to relinquish the mercenary profession in order to curb his vehemence.[19] This is not to say that empathic concern is completely absent from this play. It is implicit in Glycera's actions, which is consistent with her role as a civilising and socialising figure.[20] Compassion or empathic concern is likely what motivates her to conceal her brother's true identity from Polemon; while there are no affective labels in the play that describe her behaviour and motivation in this instance, the action highlights her decision to protect her brother's presumed civic status despite the loss of her own security.

While it is often a moot point that an absence of empathic concern stands behind violence in New Comedy, there is one extant comedy that explicitly problematises empathic lapses as forerunners of violence. It is well known that new comic plots revolve around making, reuniting, and keeping families together.[21] That said, generational conflict was a staple of ancient comic plots. For instance, many new comic plots hinge on the conflict ensuing from the discrepancy between a son's choice of romantic partner and his father's expectations – which generally follow socio-cultural norms. Terence's *Self-Tormentor*, a Latin play based on Menander's *Heauton Timōroumenos*, is no exception in this regard.[22] What is unusual about the comedy, however, is the explicitness with which it diagnoses the affective roots of familial conflict. In multiple scenarios, the comedy presents compassion as a remedy for intra-familial violence, and by implicit extension, for violence in the wider civic community. In what follows, I offer an analysis of the comedy's compassion

scenarios, tracing the correlations between empathic failures and violence, and conversely, between compassion and harmonious community.

Priming compassion: the opening emotion script

Set in a rural Attic neighbourhood, the *Self-Tormentor* focuses on two neighbours, Menedemus and Chremes, their respective relationships with their sons, Clinia and Clitipho, and their sons' romantic escapades. Badgered by his father (Menedemus) for treating the daughter of a poor Corinthian woman as his wife, Clinia secretly abandons the city to serve as a mercenary in Asia, leaving his father grief-stricken. In the course of the play, their conflict resolves itself, as Menedemus has a change of heart in his son's absence, and the woman that Clinia is involved with turns out to be the daughter of an Athenian citizen, the neighbour Chremes, and hence eligible for legitimate marriage. Meanwhile, Chremes' son is secretly involved with Bacchis, an expensive and demanding *meretrix* (courtesan). Much of the action focuses on the efforts of his slave, Syros, to con Chremes into giving his son the money he had impetuously promised Bacchis. To this end, Syros comes up with an outlandish intrigue plot that involves temporarily passing Bacchis off as Clinia's girl.

As is characteristic of Terence, the play contains no expository prologue. Instead, the action begins *in medias res*, forcing the audience to make sense of the action largely from Chremes' perspective, an older man who is himself seeking to make sense of his new and wealthy neighbour's curious conduct. The play opens with Chremes querying Menedemus, an older man of sixty-plus years, about his ceaseless manual labour (digging, ploughing, and carrying). That this intervention might have been deemed intrusive is clear from the way Chremes lays claim to a relationship with Menedemus. Although he does not actually know Menedemus, he says that neighbours are the closest things to friends, thereby giving himself permission to offer his input about Menedemus' obsessive labour.

Unimpressed by Chremes' professed concern, Menedemus effectively tells him to mind his own business. The mild rebuke leads Chremes to another justification for his behaviour; this time, he appeals to the human condition.

> I am human; I regard nothing human as alien to me.
> Take it as advice or, if you like, as a question.
> If your behaviour's right, I'll follow your example; if not
> I'll try to dissuade you (77–9).[23]

Nowadays, critics mostly see the universalising appeal in Chremes' comments as pretence, the cover of a busybody rather than a genuine sentiment.[24] While Chremes' character certainly has something of the busybody in it, (and the pompous philosopher), his character is neither so over-determined nor monolithic so as to preclude the experience of a prosocial emotion.[25] But, even if Chremes' regard for the human condition is suspect, he nevertheless introduces a leitmotif of the play, namely what it means to behave properly as a 'human'.[26] And, as the scene

builds, his professed concern appears more and more authentic, as he rehearses a compassion script that over-shadows his curiosity.

Despite Menedemus' effort to push him away, Chremes persists, asking him why he must 'torture himself' (81) and what has he done to deserve such treatment (83). These questions locate Chremes' intervention in the terrain of compassion or pity as is it sometimes rendered.[27] According to Aristotle's account, which encapsulates the Greek cultural understanding, the person who has *eleos* (pity or compassion, depending on context) makes three main judgments: that the sufferer's injury is serious, undeserved, and crucially, that the injury could happen to him or someone close to him.[28] Aristotle's first appraisal (that the sufferer's injury is serious) corresponds to the primary antecedent identified for compassion in many contemporary cultures.[29] There is some variability, however, regarding whether the other two appraisals Aristotle links to *eleos* are needed for compassion.[30] Although research on contemporary societies also finds that people often link compassion to a judgment about desert, blamelessness is not strictly required.[31] The example often adduced here is the parent who feels compassion for a child suffering as a result of her own actions. Likewise, in many contemporary societies, what is needed for compassion and empathic concern appears to be simply the valuing of another's welfare rather than the perception that one shares similar vulnerabilities with the sufferer.[32]

Though an evaluation of desert may not be a universal factor in compassion, in ancient Greece and Rome, it was very much alive in 'compassion' and pity appraisals.[33] In the *Self-Tormentor*, Chremes' question 'how do you deserve such treatment?' signals that he does not think Menedemus deserves his self-imposed suffering (83, 167–8). That is, he clearly anticipates a negative answer. Nevertheless, when Menedemus tells his story, it becomes clear that he bears some responsibility for his predicament. Even so, Chremes continues to extend compassion, despite Menedemus' insistence that he is responsible for his suffering (168–9).[34] As we will see, he drove his son away and is now 'punishing' himself for what he did to his son.[35]

Chremes regards Menedemus' suffering as serious and he initially judges it as undeserved (83). He also may imply that it is something that could happen to him (77–9, quoted above). This corresponds to the first two parts of a compassion script: the eliciting conditions (Menedemus' suffering) and the appraisals (Chremes' judgments). A third part of the script (the response or motivational tendency) unfolds when Chremes reacts to Menedemus' tears.

> Don't cry. Whatever your trouble is, tell me all about it;
> don't keep it to yourself. Don't be afraid; trust me. I say.
> I'll help you whether you need consolation or counsel or money.
>
> (85–7)

At the sight of Menedemus' breakdown, indeed before he even knows its cause, Chremes offers an array of assistance, including concrete financial support.[36] He immediately endeavours to relieve Menedemus of his burden by forcibly seizing

the weighty hoes (*rastros*) from his hands, despite Menedemus' insistence that he deserves them (88, 93).[37] In short, the scene clearly enacts a scenario that fits the criteria for compassion: in response to suffering he deems unwarranted, Chremes acts to alleviate that suffering.[38]

But Chremes has not fared well in the eyes of critics, and it is fair to say that he behaves pompously and hypocritically at key moments in the play.[39] That said, the fact that he is portrayed negatively later in the play and as getting his comeuppance in the intrigue plot does not undermine the significance of the compassion scenario he rehearses in the play's opening. In the opening scene, the audience has not yet witnessed the more unsavoury aspects of Chremes' character. Rather, his response to Menedemus serves as the *lens* through which the audience is introduced to the dramatic situation. By enacting a compassion scenario, the first scene primes the audience, setting the emotional stage in which they will hear Menedemus' tale of woe.[40] In other words, audience members are placed in a position in which they will be readily able to interpret Menedemus' emotional misstep with his son as the cultural equivalent of a compassion error, despite the lack of lexical pointers, because Chremes has effectively rehearsed this emotion script with Menedemus.

Menedemus on a father's empathic failure

Menedemus' story is a familiar one in comedy: his son fell in love with a young woman, Antiphila, the presumed daughter of a poor immigrant woman from Corinth, and began treating her as his wife (96–8). The relationship was problematic on two counts. Although her poverty was no barrier to marriage, fathers in comedy generally desire that their sons marry the daughters of relatively wealthy men, like themselves.[41] More problematic, the girl's perceived foreign ethnicity made her ineligible for citizen marriage.[42] While Menedemus does not explicitly mention these issues, the audience would have understood their role in fuelling his anger upon learning that Clinia was secretly treating the girl as a wife.[43]

> When I found out, I didn't handle him humanely (*humanitus*) and with due regard to the feelings of a lovesick lad, but with violence (*vi*), as is the common way of fathers. Day after day I would find fault with him: 'What! Do you expect to be allowed to carry on like this any longer while your father's alive? Treating a mistress practically as a wife? If you believe that, you're making a mistake. You don't know me, Clinia. I am willing for you to be called my son as long as your behaviour is worthy of you. If it isn't, I will devise some action against you that is worthy of me. In fact, this is only happening because you have time on your hands. When I was your age, I didn't spend my time on love affairs. I had no money, so I went off to Asia and gained both wealth and glory on the battlefield'. Finally, matters came to a head. The poor lad was worn down by hearing the same things emphasised over and over again. He reckoned with my age and concern for him (*benevolentia*) I was wiser than he was and had a better understanding of what was good for him. He went off to Asia to serve under the king, Chremes (99–117).

With this confession, Menedemus not only admits he behaved poorly toward his son, he also describes what this entailed in emotional terms. First, he admits that he neither treated his son 'humanely' (*humanitus*, a term that flags the comedy's interest in demarcating the parameters of properly human conduct and feeling) nor considered his feelings (*animum aegrotum adulescenti*, 100). Instead, he reacted according to a stereotyped socio-cultural script, 'in the harsh way of fathers'.[44] Accordingly, Menedemus' violence flows from two streams: his cultural conditioning and his utter failure to consider his son as a centre of experience.[45]

Although Menedemus blames himself for not considering his son's feelings, he clearly recognised that his son *had* feelings and was actually suffering. This indicates he had some form of empathy for his son, that is, some capacity to interpret his emotional state. But as we saw above, empathy comes in several varieties, and some conduce to compassion or empathic concern and some do not.[46] In Menedemus' case, (cognitive) empathy by itself was insufficient to override the priority of own perspective, bound as it was by the constraints of his role as 'harsh father' and the anger it entailed. When Menedemus admits he failed to treat his son humanely, he must mean something like 'compassionately'.[47] That he has moved into a compassion script is also indicated by the implicit appraisal in his description of Clinia as 'love sick'. The pathologising of Clinia's condition effectively absolves him of responsibility for it, allowing him to meet the blamelessness requirement often associated with ancient compassion.[48]

Although Menedemus' angry reaction was prompted by his paternal role, as his son was challenging his paternal power, he was not engaging in a paternalistic helping strategy. Parents can and do diminish feelings of empathy and/or empathic concern for their children, forcing them to confront unpleasant realities in order to secure some future benefit for them.[49] Although a parent is able to block or turn down empathic concern for a child's suffering in paternalistic helping, their concern and behaviour remains oriented to their child rather than to themselves. By contrast, Menedemus' response was self- rather than other-oriented. Far from considering his son's condition, he threatened to disown him and compelled him to embark on the hazardous enterprise of mercenary service.

Interestingly, Menedemus recognises that as a father, he should have been motivated by paternalistic helping. When he tells Chremes that Clinia left for Asia, he explains what his son was thinking:

> He reckoned that with my age and concern (*benevolentia*) for him I was wiser than he was and had a better understanding of what was good for him (115–16).

While this may or may not be an accurate account of what was in Clinia's mind, it reveals Menedemus' guilty knowledge that he failed to respond to his son with *benevolentia* (kindness, possibly even empathic concern in this example).[50] While *benevolentia* could emerge solely from a sense of obligation, and hence involve a dampening of empathy as in paternalistic helping, Menedemus admits here that he

was not actually considering what was good for his son or inhabiting his perspective; for this reason, *benevolentia* here may entail empathic concern.[51]

Instead of trying to help his son, Menedemus committed violence against him, bullying and threatening to disown him because he was not acting in accordance with his cultural and social kinship script. On a more concrete level, this verbal abuse and emotional violence put Clinia at risk of physical violence because he heeded his father's ill-conceived advice and secretly left home and city for Asia.

One might question, of course, why Menedemus thought it was a good idea to encourage his son to become a mercenary. The answer is, in part, that this is what he himself had done; because of poverty, Menedemus went to Asia in his youth and won 'wealth and glory' on the battlefield (110–12).[52] His experience represents a positive way that the campaigns of Alexander and the subsequent wars for succession benefited some citizens. While they provided a new source of physical and economic mobility for citizens, these new opportunities were also a real threat to the Greek cities. Citizens who left the city to make their fortune abroad needed to survive their service and return in order to marry and have children, i.e. to reproduce the citizen body.[53] Part of New Comedy's cultural work involves diminishing this threat by consistently deglamorising mercenary service, as we saw above in Menander's *Shorn Girl*.[54] Even though Menedemus accrued his considerable wealth by serving with the king, in his son's generation this possibility appears much diminished; it is assumed that Clinia is experiencing hardship and poverty in Asia.

Belatedly, Menedemus also remembers that being a mercenary is a risky business; as he tells Chremes, he no longer knows whether he has a son or not (93–4). Clinia is in mortal danger because, rather than acknowledging his experience, Menedemus coerced him into replicating his own experience as a young man. It is only after his son has gone off to serve as a mercenary that Menedemus considers his son's perspective and experience – common precursors to feelings of empathic concern.

When he recognises the disparity between his own life of luxury and his son's experience of hardship, poverty, and exile, he decides to do something about it (124–34). He explains to Chremes:

> So long as he lives a life of poverty and exile through my injustice, I shall punish myself on his behalf, toiling, scraping, earning my living, slaving away for him. I'm doing exactly that. I've left nothing in the house, no silver plate, no fine clothing: I collected it all up. All my maids and slaves, except those who could readily earn their keep by working on the farm, I put on the market and sold. I advertised my house for sale on the spot, and raised about 15 talents. I bought this piece of land, and here I keep myself busy. I've decided, Chremes, that I'll be doing my son less injustice so long as I make myself miserable; it is not right for me to enjoy any pleasure here, until he comes safe home to share it with me (136–49).

Menedemus rationalises his behaviour to Chremes by appeal to the language of law; he is punishing himself for harming his son (committing an injustice, in his words).

This may be why he initially rebuffs Chremes' intervention; that is, since he thinks the situation is his fault, he believes he deserves punishment and anger rather than compassion or pity. That said, there is more to Menedemus' labour than the attempted rectification of an injury through a self-imposed harm. Just as Menedemus tried to force his son to imitate his experience as a young man, he is now seeking to share his son's experience by adopting a life of hard labour and relative impoverishment.[55] In other words, rather than lacking empathic concern for his son, he may now be trying too hard. Although Menedemus is seeking to compensate for his earlier failure of empathic concern, by going to the opposite extreme of blurring the boundary between himself and his son, he compromises his ability to feel for compassion for his son, or to experience any genuine other-oriented emotion toward him.[56] Once again, Menedemus' inability to experience compassion generates violence, this time toward himself.

After hearing Menedemus' story, Chremes' pronounces judgment.[57] In his view, Menedemus and his son did not know each other well enough, a situation caused by what he describes as a lack of truthfulness in their relationship: Menedemus' emotional opacity made his son too insecure to confide in him (151–56).[58]

Chremes' pity and pretensions

Although Chremes' assessment is accurate enough, part of the humour and irony in the play stems from the fact that he completely fails to live up to the standard of emotional honesty he espouses. As the next scene shows, his relationship with his own son suffers from the same lack of transparency he identified in Menedemus' relationship.[59] Clitipho, Chremes' son, informs him that Clinia has returned from Asia and is staying in their home. Although Chremes wants to tell Menedemus the good news, Clitipho asks him to forbear. His son explains that Clinia is apprehensive both about his father's anger and about Antiphila's feelings. Upon hearing this, Chremes decides to keep Menedemus' change of heart a secret, because he thinks it best that Clinia have some fear of his father (199). In other words, immediately after preaching the value of honesty, Chremes decides a little deceit is actually for the best.

Although he tells Menedemus about his son's clandestine return, Chremes warns Menedemus not to show his true feelings or to indulge his son's affair. Unbeknownst to both men, there is no affair to indulge. Clinia's beloved, Antiphila, is respectable and is soon to be recognised as Chremes' daughter and so eligible for citizen marriage. Thanks to Chremes' slave Syros, however, Clinia is convinced to pretend that the woman he is involved with was forced to become a *meretrix* in his absence. He agrees to the fiction to help Clitipho who is actually the one involved with the costly courtesan. All this is part of Syros' plot to swindle money from Chremes to finance Clitipho's affair.[60]

When Menedemus accepts Chremes' emotional offering, it forges a new relationship between the two men, a bond also facilitated by their common status as fathers of young men.[61] Chremes seems sincerely concerned about his neighbour's

welfare as long as Clinia is missing. But Clinia's return transforms the nature of Menedemus' problem; rather than finding his son, he must now finance his affair; at any rate, this is what Chremes has been led to believe. The new problem seems to activate Chremes' helping behaviour in earnest. Certain that he understands the situation, he insists that Menedemus take his (mostly) unsolicited advice. This turn of events, coupled with Chremes' treatment of Menedemus as disastrously naïve for being willing to permit his son's relationship with Bacchis, shifts the relational dynamics between them, giving Chremes the upper hand, as he is well aware. Since an appraisal of perceived superiority or dominance often distinguishes pity from compassion, Chremes' affective response to Menedemus may have shifted into pity's territory.[62] To be more precise, although it is impossible to say whether the empathic concern Chremes initially felt toward Menedemus remains operative, he begins to feel sorry for his friend's gullibility.

Chremes' help consists of advising Menedemus not to give his son money openly but instead to allow himself to be tricked into giving it. Although his advice, telling Menedemus to hide his new leniency from his son, might have been judicious had Clinia actually been involved with Bacchis, his air of superiority and misplaced confidence makes him seem both condescending and ridiculous (441–2).[63]

In their first meeting, Chremes tells Menedemus that he will imitate his conduct if it is discovered to be the better course (79). When he finally learns that it is his own son who is involved with Bacchis, he gets another chance to live up to one of his professed principles, but again falls short. Furious about his son's affair and his own deception, he approaches Menedemus for advice. Menedemus' response – 'make him feel that you are his father' – both echoes Chremes' initial advice to him and reflects Menedemus' transformation from harsh to humane father (924–7).[64] But Chremes is completely incapable of imitating Menedemus because he places a higher value on his wealth than his son.

Chremes decides (to pretend) to offer his entire estate to Antiphila as her dowry, a move that would effectively disinherit his son. Clitipho does not understand his father's sudden loss of paternal feeling (*animum patris*, 955) and is easily persuaded by Syrus that Chremes and Sostrata are not his true parents (985, 989, 991–3). Syros convinces him to confront his parents with his suspicions since if they are wrong, he will garner instant sympathy (*misericordia*) from both parents (995). When Clitipho asks Chremes and Sostrata to show him his real parents, Chremes condemns him as lazy, deceitful, and profligate, inter alia (1033–4). To Clitipho, these words sound distinctly non-paternal (1035). This leads Chremes to spell out exactly how much his son counts in the scheme of things. Social considerations, he avers, always outweigh the mere fact of biological kinship; this would be the case, he contends, even if he had given birth to Clitipho himself:

> Not even if you were born from my own head,
> as they say Minerva was from Jupiter's,
> would I any more for that reason, Clitipho, allow your disgraceful behaviour to destroy my reputation (1035–7).

Chremes' point here is that Clitipho's identity as his son is subordinate to his own status and paternal power. No 'amount of kinship' or generative responsibility would ever lead him to tolerate a bad son, that is, a son who failed to perform according to his expectations. For this reason, Syros' earlier easy confidence that his plan, even if discovered, posed no real threat to Clitipho turns out to have been misplaced (356). The son and the slave are both susceptible to the father/master's violence. While Clitipho does not face a beating, he does have to endure paternal violence. As Menedemus puts it, Chremes is both too harsh and inhumane in dealing with his son (1045–6). In the end, it is not that surprising that Chremes repeats the kind of emotional and symbolic violence that Menedemus previously had. Unlike Menedemus, Chremes does not have an overwhelming experience of loss or grief to pierce his self-illusions. Rather, in anger at being made a figure of derision, Chremes vicitimises his son to restore his wounded pride.[65] Although Chremes gets his way in the end (he reduces Antiphila's dowry so that his son can also inherit when he agrees to marry), he does so with bad grace, providing a negative foil for the more humble and humane Menedemus.

Engendering compassion

Interestingly, there is another significant compassion error in the play that also leads to an emphasis on compassion as an alternative to violence, albeit in a back-handed way. Just as Clinia suffered violence at the hands of an uncompassionate parent, so too did Antiphila, or at least she was supposed to. In the fourth act, Chremes' wife Sostrata recognises Antiphila's ring as the very one she gave to her infant daughter when she left her with the Corinthian woman. Although this might have led audience members to expect a recognition scene between mother and daughter, the play forgoes generic piety in favour of dramatising a different kind of recognition, one between Sostrata and her husband.

Years before, when Sostrata was soon to give birth, Chremes ordered that the child not be taken up (*tolli*), if it happened to be a girl (627). Ordering that the child not be lifted up, i.e. not recognised as a family member, was tantamount to directing his wife 'to expose' the child.[66] By exposing an infant, i.e. leaving it outside to die, a parent or designated servant escaped legal responsibility for the infant's death.[67] That said, exposing an infant was considered an act of violence against it.[68] In New Comedy, female children appear disproportionally at risk for this fate.[69]

When Sostrata reminds her husband of the incident, his first thought is that she 'raised' the child behind his back. She denies doing so, but adds that she gave the infant to a respectable Corinthian woman to expose (629–30). As he sees it, this was the height of stupidity because Sostrata might have consigned the child to a life of slavery and prostitution, fates worse than death in his eyes. This is why Sostrata flags the woman's respectability; audience members would likely have assumed, as Chremes did, that she expected the woman to raise the child.[70] If she had intended to obey his orders, Chremes says that the girl should have been killed and that Sostrata should not have pretended that she was dead (634–6). Although

infant exposure is a common plot device in comedy, this is the only instance in which the violence of the act (a killing) is so explicitly acknowledged.[71]

Chremes' blunt admission that he expected their child to be killed is likely a product of the situation; he highlights the violence of the act because he is explaining, partly to himself, why his wife gave the girl a chance to live, against his wishes. He attributes her behaviour to compassion (*misericordia*) and maternal feeling (*animus maternus*) (637). Although he does not blame her for having such feelings, he nevertheless indicts her for seeing only what she wanted to see. When he asks why she has brought the subject up, she explains that Antiphila has the ring that she gave to their infant daughter many years ago.

Upon hearing the news, Chremes, like his wife, immediately accepts and welcomes Antiphila as their daughter. He explains his change of heart as follows:

> Often a man can't be how he would like to be, if his circumstances don't allow it. Now my situation is such that I'm eager for a daughter; then I wanted nothing less (666–7).

The prior circumstances preventing him from recognising his daughter were likely either poverty or the inability to provide a dowry for a female child.[72]

What is interesting about this scene is that evolutionary accounts trace the origins of compassion to parental instincts and nurturance. Compassion or empathic concern has been identified as an affective extension of the caregiving system that developed to ensure parents tend to vulnerable offspring.[73] More precisely, compassion has been seen as a cognitive generalisation that added flexibility to parental instincts.[74] Although the exposure of unwanted babies in New Comedy and Greco-Roman culture obviously goes against parental instincts and their cognitive extension, the ancient world is hardly unique in sanctioning exposure/infanticide; such practices occur in many cultures, including contemporary ones. Hrdy finds that mothers kill their own infants in cases where other forms of birth control are unavailable (2000: 296). This is pretty much the situation we find in New Comedy.

In New Comedy, familial, cultural and political conventions put illegitimate or bastard children particularly at risk for exposure.[75] That said, mothers who give birth to illegitimate children in comedy often try to ensure their survival. When possible, they secretly give them to friends to raise, who practise a form of alloparenting that itself speaks to compassion on the part of caregivers.[76] With this motif, New Comedy depicts women as privileging the survival of their offspring over cultural mores and paternal preference.[77]

Parental instincts and compassion for offspring are strong but not inflexible responses; they can be overridden, as the very practice of exposure/infanticide in ancient Greece and Rome well attests.[78] Not surprisingly, there were cultural strategies in place to dampen parental instincts, including compassion and empathic concern for infants. Most significantly, only infants who were not formally recognised as family members were vulnerable to exposure.[79] This key distancing strategy, refusing to recognise the infant as a family member, likely operated to

facilitate infra-or de-humanisation of the new-born.[80] Human compassion and empathic concern for the vulnerable may be natural, in the sense of evolved affective experiences, but they are far from automatic.

In the *Self-Tormentor*, however, linguistic cues and strategies aimed at blocking empathy and empathic concern are lacking in the tale of Antiphila's exposure. In fact, Chremes concedes that his wife was unable to comply with his demand due to her compassion and maternal feeling. Although her husband might have understood her behaviour as a compassion error, i.e. being too liberal with her circle of concern, the action of the play itself strongly comes down on Sostrata's side; her compassion stopped her from consigning her daughter to a violent fate, enabling Antiphila to be restored to her natal family and to participate in the creation of a new family with Clinia.[81]

Conclusion

By placing characters in a variety of situations in which compassion/empathic concern is called for, the *Self-Tormentor* highlights the value of this affective experience for making and maintaining community. In Chremes' case, it turns out to be easiest to express compassion toward a relative stranger (Menedemus). In dealing with his own family members, his son, wife, and infant daughter, his dedication to his own interests and culturally conditioned self-image (as *paterfamilias*) blocks his capacity for empathic concern. In his role as a foil for Menedemus, his behaviour and emotional responses demonstrate the barriers to empathic concern, and hence to communication and relationship. His attribution of compassion to his wife is likely a product of the cultural convention associating women with compassion and maternal feeling rather than his own empathic processes.[82] The cultural attribution of enhanced parental feelings to women may well have produced a gendered asymmetry in label accessibility (for certain emotions) that accounts for the way Menedemus describes his empathic failure with his son. He does not say that he should have had compassion or any other positive emotion for his son, but rather that he failed to consider his lovesick son's feelings. That said, the absence of a label does not prevent him from diagnosing and solving his affective problem. He can do what Chremes cannot because overwhelming grief at losing his son effectively defused his culturally conditioned paternal anger. He is the character who undergoes a positive transformation, rather than reverting to type, the more common new comic gesture.

This leaves the example of Sostrata. If Chremes' interpretation is correct, this scene also champions what it presents as a mother's 'natural' affective experience over the 'cultural' convention that gave fathers the power to recognise and reject family members. Sostrata feels compassion for her infant daughter despite the fact that she was not acknowledged as a family member. In other words, compassion once again emerges as an antidote to intra-familial violence arising from a father's dedication to the script of paternal power. By dramatising the affective skills needed to keep families together in the face of conflict, the *Self-Tormentor* contributes to New Comedy's project of reproducing the civic community, one family at a time. [83]

Notes

1 The following comedies depict this dynamic: Terence's *Self-Tormentor*, *Adelphoe* and *Eunuch* and Menander's *Aspis*, *Epitrepontes*, *Perikeiromenē*, and *Misoumenos*.
2 This definition is taken from Goetz *et al*. (2010: 351). Compassion is similarly defined in Nussbaum (2001, 2013); Nussbaum 2014: 123. Batson (2011: 11–12) defines empathic concern as an 'other-oriented emotion elicited by and congruent with the perceived welfare of someone in need'. He adds that 'empathic concern' often goes by other names, including "pity", "sympathy", and "compassion", to name a few'.
3 Recent research suggests that, along with sympathy, pity and compassion belong to a common emotion family: see Goetz *et al*. (2010: 352). When two emotions (compassion and pity) are said to belong to the same emotion family, they usually share a primary antecedent (in this case, the response to another's suffering), but differ with respect to peripheral appraisals and/or display behaviours, see further below. For the concept of emotion families, see Ekman (1992: 169–200). For the overlap between pity and compassion, see also Batson (2011: 11–12).
4 Although Batson sometimes uses empathy as shorthand for empathic concern, he differentiates his use of the term from many alternative conceptions of empathy currently available (2011: 12–19). Decety and Cowell (2015: 279–302) suggest jettisoning the term empathy altogether to curb the confusion stemming from the plethora of definitions.
5 For emotion sharing and affective perspective taking as two pillars of empathy, see Decety and Cowell (2015). I borrow the term 'affective perspective taking' from this source. See also Decety (2005: 135–49). Zaki (2014: 1608–9) describes three core 'empathic processes', including experience or emotion sharing, mentalising or perspective-taking, and mind perception (recognising that another person has internal states). According to Nussbaum (2013: 145–6, and 1996: 209), taking the other's perspective is the core of empathy.
6 Although Batson (2011: 43) emphasises that the perspective-taking associated with empathy does not automatically elicit emphatic concern, in his studies people instructed to take the perspective of a suffering being often showed an increase in empathic concern. See also Nussbaum (2013: 146).
7 Daos in Menander's *Aspis* is one of the best examples of a comic slave able to read the mind of a master and hence to defeat him, see 323–70.
8 Empathic concern/compassion does not seamlessly map onto any single term in Greek or Latin. Terms that can, depending on their context, signify empathic concern include the Greek *eleos* (pity), *sympatheia* (sympathy), *philanthrōpia*, (humane, kind), and the Latin *humanitus* (humane, kind), *misericordia* (pity) and *benevolentia* (to name a few). According to David Konstan (2006: 217), *philanthrōpia* in Aristotle represents 'an instinctive sensitivity to the suffering of others' independent of judgments of desert and similar vulnerabilities; on this rendering, *philanthrōpia* is very close to compassion as defined here (albeit without the action tendency). On *philanthrōpia* in Demosthenes, see also Christ (2013: 202–22). For emotion labels in ancient Greek related to compassion as defined in this study, see further Konstan (2006: 201–18). For *misericordia*, see Konstan (2001: 96, 102, and passim); for *humanitus*, see Jocelyn (1973: 14–46).
9 For Menander's interest in dramatising emotion episodes or their aftermath, see, e.g. *Shorn Girl* (on jealousy) and plays named for emotions, e.g. *Anger*. In addition, comic plots often revolve around characters whose proclivity for certain emotion states have become emotion traits, e.g., Cnemon in Menander's *Dyskolos*.
10 The following studies employ or advocate for the script approach to the study of the emotions in the classical world: Cairns (2008: 43–62); Kaster (2007); Sanders (2013: 41–57; 2014).
11 For these components, (emotion appraisals, display behaviour, etc.) see Goetz *et al*. (2010).

12 On the dramaturgic aspect of emotions, see Cairns (2008: 46–7): 'Emotions are indeed part of the dramaturgy of everyday life, but this is not to say that they are mere performances rather than also genuine psychological experiences'. See also Kaster (2007: 8).
13 In this study, the primary focus is on the characters' emotions in the play, rather than on audience response. That said, recent studies highlight that theatre audiences use empathy (a prelude to empathic concern) to make sense of drama, see McConachie (2011).
14 On pimps as outsiders in the comic universe, see Leigh (2005: 134).
15 For the ability of individuals to block empathy for members of select outgroups in contemporary society, see Harris and Fiske (2006: 847–53); Haslam and Loughnan (2014: 399–423); Zaki (2014: 1608–47); Greene (2013). See also Nussbaum (2010), for compassion errors resulting from constructing one's circle of concern too narrowly.
16 For the link between violence and the lack of empathy in contemporary societies, see Haslam and Loughnan (2014). Although with Terence and Menander we are dealing with comic drama rather than life (despite Aristophanes of Byzantine's famous quote), my assumption throughout is that both dramatists were skilled in constructing the emotional and psychological states of their characters in ways that resonated with the affective repertoires of their cultures.
17 For violence against slaves in Menander's comedy, see Konstan (2013: 144–58).
18 *Perikeiromenē* 722–3. On the significance of Glycera as her own *kyria* (guardian) in the play, and for Glycera's construal of Polemon's behaviour in terms of *hybris*, see Lape (2004: 173–84).
19 For Glycera's decision to pardon or forgive Polemon, see lines 1006–8, and 1021–4, with Lape (2004: 187–8 and note 47 on the line attributions).
20 See Lape (2004: 180–83).
21 See Ogden (1996); Konstan (1995); Lape (2004).
22 Roughly 12 lines of Menander's *Heauton Timōroumenos* are extant. One five-line chunk, K –A 77, can be compared to Terence's play at 61ff. Although *Self-Tormentor* is Terence's least studied play, perhaps because this is the only one of his comedies for which there is no commentary by Donatus, there is nevertheless a considerable bibliography, much of it devoted to the meaning of the prologue for the play's composition and its relation to Menander's play, structurally and/or thematically, see Brothers (1980: 94–119; 1988); Dunsch (1999: 7–131); Fantham (1971: 970–98); Lefèvre (1994; 2013: 243–61); Ludwig (1968: 169–82); Richardson Jr (2006: 13–36); Steidle (1974: 247–76). For gender ideology in the play, see Konstan (1995).
23 Translations of Terence's *Self-Tormentor* are slightly adapted from Barsby (2001).
24 See, e.g. Jocelyn (1973). For the perception of common humanity as an orientation for compassion, see Ben-Ze'ev (2000: 330).
25 According to Jocelyn (1973: 33), Chremes is not motivated by goodwill or compassion here, but rather is endeavouring to ward off the perception that there is any malignant intent behind his intervention. Although this may well be correct, it hardly precludes Chremes from developing a compassionate response to his neighbour as he acquires information about his situation.
26 See also the use of *humanitus* and its cognates, 99–100, 1045–46.
27 Nussbaum (2001: 319).
28 *Rhetoric* 1385b12–16. Scholars have argued that the Greek *eleos* can in some cases be translated as compassion rather than pity, see Nussbaum (1996; 2001); Goetz *et al*. (2010: 355). In contemporary United States, pity is associated with an appraisal of perceived superiority and a passive action tendency, i.e. there is no motivation to help the sufferer, Nussbaum (2001); Ben-Ze'ev (2000: 328). In ancient Greek culture, *eleos* may or may not involve an appraisal of superiority. It does, however, often include the action tendency to help the sufferer, as in Athenian patriotic rhetoric and drama.
29 Nussbaum (2001; 2013); Goetz *et al*. (2010: 355). According to Nussbaum and appraisal theories of emotions, the appraisals or judgments leading to an emotion can occur very rapidly, prior to linguistic formulation; the person experiencing the emotion

may simply regard situation as negative for the creature in question: Nussbaum (2013: 142). See also Kaster (2007: 151 n.16). This is consistent with the view that emotion appraisals often begin with an automatic evaluation of whether a stimulus is positive or negative: see Ledoux (1996).

30 Aristotle's emphasis on blamelessness and similar possibilities with the sufferer as antecedents for *eleos* may reflect the work of culture or social conditioning in harnessing the emotions to make various forms of social division and exclusion feel natural. For example, Candace Clark has shown that in the contemporary United States, many people feel no compassion for the poor because they regard them as responsible for their poverty, either because of laziness or some other such reason. Clark's work is discussed in Nussbaum (2001; 2010); see also Keltner, Haidt, and Shiota (2006).

31 In her early work on compassion, Nussbaum (2001) argued for the continuing validity of blamelessness as an antecedent in compassion. She has since changed her position, arguing that an evaluation of responsibility is not necessary for compassion to arise: Nussbaum (2013: 143). According to Batson (2011: 34), although judgments of perceived responsibility contribute to the perception that someone is in need, blamelessness is not a necessary condition for empathic concern.

32 Nussbaum (2001: 319). Nussbaum (2013) refers to this valuing of another's welfare in terms of making the eudaimonistic judgment that the other being matters for them; For Batson (2011), compassion or empathic concern requires valuing another person's welfare.

33 See Konstan (2001; 2006).

34 In other words, the play suggests that a social actor might extend compassion in a way that contravened cultural norms governing when, why, and for whom to feel the emotion, (as codified in Aristotle's listing of compassion appraisals).

35 There are two aspects to Menedemus' plight. First, he suffers because he drove his son away. Second, he suffers because he engages in exorbitant manual labour because he believes this suffering is a way of atoning for driving his son away as well as a way of sharing his experience.

36 His offer of financial assistance may have been disingenuous because he is well aware of Menedemus' wealth.

37 As readers, we miss some elements of the emotion script, including Chremes' physical gestures and other forms of display. His effort to seize the hoes, however, is signalled in the text. On the hoes as a symbol of Menedemus' penance and the possible connection with Menander's *Dyskolos*, see Keuls (1969: 213).

38 Chremes' behaviour offers a dramatic illustration of Batson's empathy-altruism hypothesis (*Altruism*). In many studies and experiments, Batson has demonstrated that empathic concern – his term for compassion as defined above – produces altruistic motivation – the desire to enhance the welfare of the suffering being.

39 For critiques of Chremes' character and hypocrisy, see Fantham (1971: 980–81); Jocelyn (1973); Richardson (2006).

40 Members of a theatrical audience usually rely on some form of empathic process with the characters to orient themselves to the drama, see above note 13. In Terence's comedy, this process was intensified, at least in the opening scene, because there was no expository prologue, as there probably was in Menander's play. For the cognitive mechanisms that audience members use to interpret drama, see McConachie (2008). Oatley (2012) argues that readers of fiction experience the characters' emotions as a primary sense making process.

41 For the class and ideological dynamics behind new comic marriage plots, see Lape (2004: 129–36).

42 For New Comedy's support of Athens' marriage and citizenship norms, see Ogden (1996); Lape (2004, *passim*).

43 More generally, Menedemus' anger also stemmed from his son's challenge to his parental power; for this issue in Terence's comedy, see Lape (2006: 35–52).

44 For the possible metadramatic significance of this line, see Brothers (1988: 171, 101).
45 According to Nussbaum (2013), considering the other as a centre of experience is a key feature of empathy; she does not specify, however, whether this claim extends to all forms of empathy.
46 See above, note 6. In Menedemus' case, recognising his son's emotional state may have resulted from purely cognitive empathy, the skill in which comic slaves are so well versed. Initially, however, his anger dampened his ability to consider any perspective other than his own. Later, however, when Menedemus' anger has turned to grief, he is capable of engaging in retrospective affective perspective taking. In so doing, he transitions from empathy to empathic concern or compassion.
47 On his account, Menedemus understood that if he had actually considered his son's perspective, he would have responded differently, perhaps with compassion, rather than reacting in anger. This strongly suggests that compassion/empathic concern as understood in this study was included in the affective repertoire of the ancients. Konstan has argued that compassion and sympathy were absent in the ancient world because there is no evidence for the kind of 'emotional fusion' these terms imply (Konstan (2001: 60; 2006: 213). As we have seen, however, empathy – often a precursor to compassion – comes in several flavours; empathy rooted in affective perspective taking does not imply or require emotional fusion or emotion sharing. In *Self Tormentor*, it is only when Menedemus takes his son's perspective (retrospectively) that he exhibits something like compassion for Clinia.
48 For romantic passion as a disease that, in select circumstances, exonerates those who commit sexual offences under its sway, see Rosivach (1998); Lape (2004).
49 Zaki (2014: 1614).
50 On one model of mindreading, we come to know what is in another person's mind by simulating their situation, by projecting one's self into the past, present, or future of another, see Decety and Grèze (2006: 4–14); Goldman and Jordan (2013: 448–66). In other words, since one uses the knowledge of one's own mind to infer the contents of another, mindreading often tells us more than the mind-reader than the target per se.
51 Thanks to the editors of this volume for pointing this out to me.
52 On one level, Menedemus' demand does not make sense. Since he is extremely wealthy, there is really no reason to send his son off to make his fortune as a mercenary. According to Leigh (2005), the disparity between the economic circumstances of comic fathers in their youth and that of their sons (as depicted in Terence's *Self-Tormentor* and *Adelphoe*, and Plautus' *Mercator*) gesture to the significant changes in Roman culture that took place between 250 and 150 BCE.
53 Hellenistic rulers aggressively recruited Greek citizens for their armies: see Diod. Sic. 18.50.3–4, 18.61.4, 20.40.1–42.5. They also founded new cities and lured members of established Greek cities with promises of land.
54 For this process, see Lape (2004: 173–83, 188–94, 200). Even when comic mercenary service enriches a citizen, as Menedemus here or Cleostratus in Menander's *Aspis*, there is also a downside: in the *Aspis*, Cleostratus' presumed death causes a family crisis. In the *Self-Tormentor*, Menedemus' experience as a mercenary is what leads him to push service on his son, which also leads to a family crisis.
55 This is what distinguishes Menedemus' behaviour from that of a character like Laertes, the prototype of a father grieving for a son missing in 'war'. Like Menedemus, Laertes toils in isolation, longing for his absent son. Yet, there is no indication in the *Odyssey* that Laertes is endeavouring to share or mimic his son's experience; his physical labour serves as an outlet for emotional pain. By contrast, Menedemus is trying to feel as he imagines his son feels, to participate in his experience of hardship by approximating it. That said, grief in Greek culture often contains an element of self-mortification or self-violence that may in some cases express an effort to mimic the state of the one who is grieved for.

56 To the degree that he is able, Menedemus seems to be attempting to project himself into his son's situation, i.e., he is creating an analogue to his son's military service on his farm. His effort to recreate his son's experience can be described as empathy in the original aesthetic sense of the term, see further Batson 2011, 17. Blurring the boundary between self and other, however, inhibits compassion. (Nussbaum 1996, 35).
57 Chremes' propensity to judge other people's affairs is an important element of his character; later, in Act 3, he excuses himself from serving as an arbitrator in a boundary dispute so that he can continue to help resolve Menedemus' family crisis (498–502).
58 Chremes echoes but alters the affective emphasis of Menedemus' rebuke to his son, 'you don't know me' (105).
59 Clitipho complains that his father only reveals his own thoughts and feelings indirectly, through a surrogate; at the same time, he rails against the 'double standard', the hypocrisy of fathers who force their sons to live as if they were already old men, conveniently forgetting their own youthful indiscretions (213). On this issue, see further Leigh (2005).
60 For the intrigue plot, see Lowe (1998).
61 For the power of sympathy exchanges to forge new relationships in contemporary culture, see Clark and Schmitt (2007: 467).
62 Chremes says that he 'pities' Menedemus after describing Bacchis' exorbitant demands (455–464). It is possible that his earlier response to Menedemus also contained an appraisal of superiority, although it is not signalled in the text. If anything, Chremes initially acknowledges Menedemus' superior position in the socio-economic hierarchy.
63 For a more positive interpretation of Chremes' helping behaviour, see Konstan (1995).
64 Fantham (1971: 978–9) emphasises that Menedemus truly has undergone a transformation; in contrast to his past practice, he now shows his son how he feels; i.e. he takes Chremes' criticism to heart. She argues that Menedemus is not betrayed or deceived, like Chremes, because of his honesty and humility.
65 For Chremes' inability to tolerate a blow to his ego, see Richardson (2006: 26).
66 Chremes told his wife that a female child – *puella* – was not to be raised; i.e. he refused to acknowledge the child and expected that it would be exposed: see Brothers (1980: 205).
67 Although infant exposure is a common plot device in New Comedy, precisely how common the practice was in Greek and Roman culture is unknown. For the Greek evidence, see Pomeroy (1997); Golden (1981: 316–31); Harris (1982); Ogden (1996). The aforementioned scholars reject Engels' arguments that infanticide was not common in ancient Greece: Engels (1980). Although infant exposure is usually equated with infanticide by scholars of ancient Greece, in the Roman context, Corbier (2001: 66, 61) points out that exposure has affinities with abandonment; the child is left in swaddling clothes for a third party to rescue, albeit there was a lack of specific abandonment sites.
68 Patterson (1985: 103 n. 1).
69 As a character in Poseidippus' *Hermaphroditus* says: 'everyone rears a son, even if he happens to be a poor man, and exposes a daughter, even if he happens to be a rich man' (F12 KA).
70 This scenario whereby a wife saves a child her husband ordered exposed is consistent with other Latin texts, fictive and historical, in which male 'authors choose to present paternal and maternal attitudes to abandonment as opposed,' see Corbier (2001: 71).
71 In Menander's *Samia*, however, an angry father threatens to incinerate his daughter's bastard child (553–54). As the comedy makes clear, this was not acceptable behaviour; for infant exposure in New Comedy, see Murray (1943: 46–54); Lape and Moreno (2014: 336–72); Ogden (1996).
72 Poverty is also a reason for infant exposure in Menander's *Shorn Girl* 802–12.
73 Goetz *et al*. (2010: 354–55); Hrdy (2000).
74 Batson (2011: 53–5). According to Batson, the 'genetically based caring of a parent for a child may provide the biological substrate for all intrinsic valuing of another's welfare and thereby for all empathy induced altruism in humans'.

75 Ogden, in *Greek Bastardy* (1996), emphasises that the only evidence that bastard children were at great risk for exposure comes from New Comedy. Poverty occasionally supplies a motive for infant exposure in New Comedy. In Menander's *Perikeiromenē*, Pataecus exposed his twins because their mother died in childbirth and because the ship carrying his livelihood sank (802–10).
76 In Menander's *Hērōs*, a mother gives her twins to a shepherd and in *Phasma* and *Priestess*, a mother gives her illegitimate child to a neighbour to raise.
77 This is likely because female identity (at least for respectable women) was largely defined in terms of kinship whereas male identity had several streams, kinship, occupation, political and social status, etc.
78 Batson (2011: 55); Hrdy (2000: 26, 236–44, 288–93).
79 Patterson (1985: 105). In the Roman context, 'the rejection of the child by exposure takes place before it is regarded as having attained full *human* status and integration in the family' (italics, mine): see Corbier (2001: 68).
80 In the *Samia*, Chrysis' imagined transgression involves 'taking up' and hence acknowledging her supposed bastard child instead of exposing it, as Demeas ordered, 355, 411, 546. On *anaireo* in the middle as taking up an exposed child or taking up and owning a newborn, see LSJ *anaireo* iv.
81 It is likely not insignificant that this scenario involves one particular form of exposure, namely the exposure of freeborn females by married citizens, a practice that the majority of scholars believe happened often in both Greece and Rome. See Golden (1981); Harris (1982); Ogden (1996); Pomeroy (1997); contra Engels (1980). Golden estimates a 20 per cent rate of female infanticide.
82 See Corbier (2001).
83 I would like to thank the editors of this volume for inviting me to participate and for their warm encouragement and many helpful comments.

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8 Violence in Hellenistic sculpture

Craig I. Hardiman

From its earliest manifestations, Greece was a culture that publicly visualised violence. Bronze Age reliefs and paintings, post-Mycenaean amphorae and early Archaic pottery all present examples of images of violence, especially warfare and combat, that would have been viewed in the open by the public at large. Among the most common types of visual culture that an ancient viewer would have encountered was that of architectural relief sculpture. Since the Archaic period, this form of decoration adorned temples, civic structures, and other architectural forms, and frequently chose violent scenes, often from mythology, for its imagery. Explicit imagery from the Trojan War, battles of Greeks versus centaurs, or Greeks versus Amazons sat beside more implicit scenes of violence, such as cavalry riders, or the mythological deeds of heroes like Heracles or Theseus. Indeed, these images of implied violence may also have been present in the numerous *kouros* statues of the period, if the *aretē* (excellence) they spoke to included martial prowess. This visualisation of violence only increased in the Classical period, with architectural sculpture continuing its long tradition, as exemplified by the numerous mythological battles represented on the Parthenon, and with increased votive statues of warriors, such as the Riace Warriors or the Doryphorus, populating public spaces and sanctuary grounds. This is all to say that violent imagery and scenes of martial violence had a long tradition in the Greek world (as in most ancient cultures) and would have been seen and experienced by every level of society in its many public manifestations. The meanings of the material and the experiences of the affected audience(s) would have been just as varied, from shock to acceptance, from explicit to metaphorical, from societal to personal. A survey of this material and its reception would be a massive undertaking but it suffices to note that by the Hellenistic period, the Greek visual language of violence had long been established and was commonplace in the many public spaces of the Greek world.[1]

With the advent of the Hellenistic age, little changed in terms of the actual subject matter of these images. Mythological tales such as the battle between gods and giants continued, as allegorical themes of 'us against them' were just as important for Hellenistic monarchs and kingdoms as they had been for individual city-states. Three major differences, however, began to come to the fore over the course of the fourth century and into the Hellenistic period: 1) the advent of 'real' or historical battle scenes; 2) the increased compositional complexity of violent

imagery; and 3) the tone in which these images were presented. The first of these changes is perhaps the most difficult to deal with, given the scarcity of examples and the complex nature of its development. Begun perhaps as early as the late fifth century BCE with the battle relief on the frieze of the Temple to Athena Nike in Athens, historical battle scenes seemed to have never sat well with the Greeks.[2] Several reasons have been put forward for this. Most common perhaps is the idea of *hybris* (pride) and the idea that celebrating one's achievements would surely invoke ill fortune. This would be true of any media, and so it was best to show allegorical or generic imagery, with perhaps a dedicatory inscription.[3] This was especially the case for relief sculpture on a temple where one would not want to upstage the deity in their own home. Allied to this would be the idea that placing a temporal action on the a-temporal 'house of the god' would lock the building (and thus the deity) in a specific time and place, something contrary to the belief of the gods' eternal presence and power. It is perhaps then not surprising that historical battle/violent imagery began outside of temple reliefs and its allegorical representations.[4]

It was in the late Classical and early Hellenistic periods when historical battle imagery, side by side with violent 'historical' hunting imagery, began to appear in Greek art, primarily among the Macedonian elite. Such material, long recognised as important, first came to light in commemorative works such as funeral art and sanctuary dedications.[5] Hunting scenes such as those from Tomb II at Vergina (see Fig. 8.1) and martial/votive works such as Lysippus' Granicus monument at Dion illustrate the changing nature of these 'historical' narratives.



Figure 8.1 Reconstruction of hunting scene from Tomb II. Vergina, Greece. Drawing by G. Miltsakis. © Athens Archaeological Society.



Figure 8.2 Scene from the sculpted monument of Aemilius Paullus. Delphi, Greece. Archaeological Museum of Delphi, Greece. Photo: Craig Hardiman. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports /Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Whether the hunting scene from Vergina represents an actual event is impossible to know but it represents a specific hunt of a kind that certainly happened among the Macedonians. This then may have inspired other works in other media such as the Lion Hunt and the Stag Hunt mosaics from Pella. While these pieces are generic enough in their representation of events, there is a suggestion that the Lion Hunt mosaic recalls an actual hunt, where Alexander the Great was aided at the last instance by his friend Craterus – a moment that was also commemorated in bronze as a statuary group at Delphi.[6] These images were among the earliest attempts at historical violent imagery and their tradition was to culminate in the erection of the Aemilius Paullus monument at Delphi in 167 BCE. The monument records the victory of the Romans over the forces of King Perseus of Macedon at the battle of Pydna, a deciding victory that would ultimately lead to the conquering of all of Greece. The monument was originally prepared by Perseus in an Hellenistic-Macedonian style to cement ties between himself and Delphi, but after the loss was re-dedicated by Aemilius Paullus as a victory commemoration. Such historical narratives are a more common feature of Roman iconography and so this may have seemed a natural act for the victor, but it was still largely unknown in the Greek world. The pillar was sculpted on four sides with a scene depicting the precise moment a horse bolted the lines to begin the hostilities (see Fig 8.2).

Like many earlier works, there is no attempt to depict landscape, the combatants are engaged in linear groupings, and dead bodies act as both spatial filler and linking devices. The work is of high quality with great attention paid to detail, and this image of an historical battle that can be dated precisely was to help set the stage for future such commemorative scenes.

The second major trend in such violent imagery is an increasing complexity in composition. Lysippus, Alexander the Great's court sculptor, is credited with being the first sculptor to fully embrace the notion of large, multi-figural groups. This may have begun with his work on the Daochus Monument at Delphi, a commemorative monument of several members of an important family, but it was his creations of the aforementioned Craterus Monument at Delphi and the Granicus Monument at Dion that seem to shift the compositions of violent imagery into a new phase. As with the notion of historical narratives, there were precedents, especially at the sanctuaries at Delphi and Olympia, where one could obtain maximum visual impact. At Delphi, there was the monument erected by Athens beside their treasury that contained 10–12 statues, the Lysander Monument erected to commemorate the Battle of Aegispotami of 405/404 BCE contained 40 figures, the Arcadian Dedication commemorating Theban victories over the Spartans in 370/369 BCE contained 9 figures and the Monument of the Argive Kings erected after 369 BCE contained 10 statues.[7] At Olympia, dating to the early to mid-fifth century BCE, were the Monument of the Apollonians, with its 13 statues and Monument of the Achaeans, with its 10 statues. The Philippeum and its 5 statues was dedicated in 338 BCE after the victory at Chaeronea, to say nothing of the forest of dedicatory statues that would have been placed side by side and likely at least compared by the viewer.[8] But these statues were all static. Even if composed as a cohesive group they were placed side by side or opposite one and other like chess pieces, with the only interaction being the statues' postures and visual connections. Lysippus may have used his opportunity to compose the image of 25 companions of Alexander, who died at the Battle of Granicus in 334 BCE, to also have the statues interact with each other in a way that had not happened before.[9] Although the precise makeup and placements of the statues will never be known, it is likely that the totality of Macedonian battle and hunting imagery may give us a picture (see Fig. 8.3).[10] Other monuments such as the Alexander Sarcophagus and the Alexander Mosaic may also provide compositional and narrative clues.[11] These would all suggest at least some interaction of the figures that would have heightened the overall emotional impact of the piece. Andrew Stewart has suggested that this was Lysippus using the 'shock of the new' to create an impact on the viewer in the size and the scope of the victory monument and that this manipulation fell into a recognised pattern of Lysippus' 'phenomenal idealism', whereby the artist manipulated the formal aspects of his work for a desired impact, all the while creating an illusion of reality by his attention to detail and overall workmanship.[12] This type of interaction among the statues and the ways in which Lysippus would manipulate the audience would naturally open the flood-gates for all of the theatricality, *symplegmata* (intertwined statues) and emotional involvement that would come to dominate the Hellenistic age.[13] This is especially true if Lysippus



Figure 8.3 Statue of Alexander on horseback. Thought to be in the tradition of the Granikos Monument. Naples Archaeological Museum, Naples, Italy, Mus. Inv. No. 4996. Photo: Craig Hardiman. © Su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attivita Culturali e del Turismo, Naples MAN.

included some of the defeated Persians in the Granicus Monument, something that would set the stage for the emotional intensity of violent imagery that was now to come.

This leads to the third major trend of the period: the new tone and emotional drama in which violent images were portrayed. As with the previous two trends, there was a natural build-up over time with several monuments indicating an increased emphasis on highlighting the emotional reactions on the part of the viewer. These can range from the Amazonomachy and Centauromachy friezes from the Temple of Apollo at Bassae, dated to ca. 400 BCE, which shows a heightened awareness for emotional impact that includes large, expressive, deep cut eyes and bodies of the living and dead contorted in ways that can elicit shock and better encapsulate the chaos of battle.[14] Then there is the work of the famous sculptor Scopas from the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, dated to ca. 340 BCE (Fig. 8.4). From the West Pediment's battle at the river Caecus, this figure of a warrior has the turned head, deeply cut and evocative eyes, with heavy eyelids and an 'outrospective' expression (contemplative while looking off in the distance) that draws the viewer into the piece wondering what the hero is thinking and experiencing. These were all to be influences for Lysippus and his style and approach to drawing in the viewer and evoking emotional reactions on the part of the audience and so this too was a theme set by the beginning of the Hellenistic period.[15] The piece *par excellence* that demonstrates this new way of drawing the viewer into violent imagery is the Gigantomachy frieze from the Altar of Zeus at Pergamum. This frieze is emblematic, and in many ways the culmination, of these

violent battle images. When taken in its totality, the Altar of Zeus has all three of these themes represented among its various sculptures and decoration. The frieze itself is a masterpiece of form, composition, style and execution in the way that the viewer is drawn into the conflict and in how his/her emotions are manipulated. Take the famous scene of Athena fighting the giant Alcyoneus – the image is full of movement, overlap and dramatic postures showing the increased attention to physical interactions that more closely approximates actual combat and seems more 'realistic' to the viewer (Fig. 8.5). Both Alcyoneus and his mother Gaea have deeply sculpted and emotive eyes, along with pained expressions on their faces such that the viewer can almost feel their agony and anguish at their impending doom. The visual complexity of the piece draws the audience in to the experience of battle and violence in a way that had not been done before. One feels horror at the brutality of the action, sympathy for the dying giant and his



Figure 8.4 Head of a warrior by Skopas. Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, Greece. National Archaeological Museum of Athens, Greece, Mus. Inv. No. 180. Photo: Craig Hardiman. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports / Archaeological Receipts Fund.

bereaved mother, and awe at the speed and movement of the combatants. The bodies intertwine and engage each other to truly give a sense of the chaos of battle. There is even a point in the Frieze where a giant has his knee on the steps of the Altar, quite literally entering the space of the viewer and interacting with him/her. And this still says nothing of how one can be drawn in to the composition from the various allegories and possible references in the Frieze that may allude to actual battles between the Pergamenes and the Celts.[16] One might even feel pride at the victory of the Greek gods over the forces of barbarism.

The Gigantomachy Frieze from the Altar of Zeus is a good example of how much of ancient Greek martial and violent imagery both did and did not change over time. One can see the ways in which the themes mentioned manifest themselves by drawing the viewer in and interacting with him/her and heightening the emotional experience. By composing figures that seem to move and interact with each other the Pergamene sculptors gave a more dramatic and theatrical sense of battle and, although no historical narrative is present, one can see certain allusions to historical battles in which the Pergamenes were engaged.[17] And yet at its core, this is still a frieze with a very common and well-worn theme of mythological and allegorical battles of a type common since the Archaic period. While the interaction between the viewer and the images may have been a more emotional experience and the forms and compositions of the images may have been dramatically new, in essence the artists were just re-packaging old and familiar imagery so as to reproduce a culturally understood message of violence. One wonders if



Figure 8.5 Athena panel from the Altar of Pergamon. Pergamon Museum, Berlin, Germany. Photo: Johannes Laurentius. © Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

there was a fundamentally new perception and cultural understanding of this type of violent imagery or if art was merely more engaging than it had been, but that there was no real cultural change. This may have been the case for much of the public, violent art on view in the Hellenistic period, but there is one category of material where there does seem to have been a perceptual shift in the way they were understood and received by the public.

'Sexual' violence

This category of violent imagery, where there may be a more pronounced cultural shift in the presentation and reception of violence, is in what may be termed 'sexually' violent scenes. In general, these types of images are not new and have a long history in Greek art. What is new is the reception and possible meaning(s) of certain types of these images, especially as they transitioned from primarily private to more public pieces of art. These are representations of anything from flirtations to abductions to outright sexual activity that all seem to have some violence implied in the visual story being told. Traditionally, scholars have looked at images of sexual violence that seem to outright show, or strongly imply, a rape scene. Often the physical act itself is not depicted and one is confronted with the conundrum: is this a pursuit scene or an abduction scene. As such, many scholars of such art will use the ancient root of the term, the verb *rapio* 'to seize', as their broad definition of rape scenes. These stories are often portrayed as pursuit scenes, with one individual chasing after another, with the seizure implied but not shown. Greek mythology is replete with stories of sexual seizure, such as the tales of Zeus and Ganymede or the Rape of Persephone by Poseidon, in addition to the attempts or actions of characters like Theseus or Jason.[18] These stories may have reflected actual marriage ceremonies, at least in Athens, which often included a mock seizure where the husband 'forcefully took' his bride from her father's house to his to indicate the woman's change in status from daughter to wife.[19] As such these sorts of scenes became popular for a period of time as subjects on some Greek vases of the Late Archaic and Classical periods and may form a sort of template for an understanding of early images of sexual violence in Greek art.

Perhaps the biggest note to make about these earlier images is that they are represented on private pieces for private consumption. Painted pots were expensive objects to own and were thus objects of display for the wealthy, but this was still done in the home, likely to select groups and on select occasions. These were not images like relief sculpture on public architecture commissioned by the state, for the state and for the consumption of all who came to a particular town or city. This may be one of the reasons why such explicit images may have first begun on this category of material objects – the private context allowed for different and risqué subject matter to be attempted.[20] This is not to suggest that 'state' ideologies or cultural/political messages could have not have lain behind such imagery. Perhaps the most famous of these instances is an *oinochoe* (wine jug) in Hamburg with a foreign, possibly Persian, dressed individual bent over and about to be raped by a pursuer who is stimulating his penis as he runs forward. An inscription on the

pot labels the foreigner as 'Eurymedon', the site of a famous battle where the Greeks defeated the Persian forces of Xerxes I. The message is clear, political and sexually violent.[21] To paraphrase Kenneth Dover – the Greeks truly buggered the Persians.[22] Other images of mythical pursuits have been seen through the lens of contemporary politics, whereby pursuit and rape equates to war and violence, but it should be remembered that the implied violence is always committed by a divine being. These gods and divine figures can be interpreted in myriad ways and as creatures outside the realm of human affairs they may not be subject to human law.[23] Still, various types of sexual violence and assault were legal in Athens and elsewhere, and so the implied sexual violence may have been 'understood' by the ancient viewer as legally, and thus socially, acceptable.[24]

Another acceptable image being produced at this time is far more explicit and clearly had little to do with political metaphors. These are images that show explicit sexual violence within the broader category of Greek erotica or pornography. Unlike pursuit scenes, the violence in these images is explicit, although it is difficult at time to determine whether the violence is consensual or not.[25] Often these scenes represent orgiastic activities and one is thus drawn to the suggestion that these represent post-symposium sex scenes with *hetairai* (courtesans) or prostitutes, further muddying the waters about consensual practices. Still the violence on some of the images is clear with men placing their hands roughly on women to force them into fellatio or holding sandals about to hit the women during sex. These representations make clear that graphic images of violent sexual acts were acceptable within the private sphere of Greek art. Added to the corpus of pursuit scenes, it seems clear that the Greeks of the late Archaic and Classical periods had few issues with images of sexual violence, be they implicit or explicit. It is important to note, however, that these images are not only restricted to vase painting and thus private art in the home, but they have a chronological constraint as well. Our surviving evidence suggests that these sorts of painted pottery had a heyday of only ca. 100 years, from approximately 525 to 425 BCE. Why exactly this is the case is unclear, but everything from social change, economic adjustments, new political realities and just a change in personal taste have all been put forward.[26] These types of images, therefore, differ significantly in terms of context and audience from the Hellenistic material to be discussed but they do help set a cultural backdrop to what seems to happen in this new period. What is clear is that these were serious, private pieces of art that may have been metaphors for larger political or social issues or may have reflected actual events set within the cultural and legal framework of a city like Athens.[27] This seems to change a few centuries later.

In the Hellenistic period there is a major shift in the display settings of sexually violent material. While erotic or violent imagery is still on display in the home, many sexually violent images were now being displayed in public areas. In addition, the images are now rendered in different media, with sculpture being a major category. As previously stated, the Greek landscape held many examples of violent imagery, especially in the form of relief sculpture. What is perhaps new here is not only the subjects themselves and their overall execution, but the ways

in which these new public works mediated the cultural notions of *aidōs* ('shame' or 'decorum'), *dikē* ('right' or 'justice'), *agōn* ('struggle'), and how in turn these notions went into the construction of certain societal viewing meanings.[28] These new contexts may have added to the general polyvalent meanings of works, bringing in elements that may not have been seen exclusively (or in the main) as sexual or violent.

How this shift came about is difficult to tell, but a mediating influence, or at least examples of the shift, may be drawn from New Comedy, especially Menander, and the role that sexual violence sometimes played in its plots. Several of Menander's plays have a rape as a central plot point within the play, where a young and wealthy Athenian rapes a poorer woman out of unquenchable desire and then professes to love her through the rest of the play.[29] In other instances a man may rape a woman at a religious festival, providing a location where large groups of men and women would interact, not something that was an everyday occurrence.[30] The plot is often resolved at the end by having the two parties marry. With a socio-historical reading of these plays, it has been suggested that this plot point is an attempt to circumvent certain traditions in Athenian marriage systems that emphasised the importance of economic equality and of dowry exchange. With a rape, the affected person's family could provide a smaller dowry commensurate with the woman's new societal status as victim. This has the effect of levelling out economic differences and allows for upward socio-economic movement through marriage.[31] In essence sexual violence is used as a plot device to allow differing classes to (inter) mingle and move a larger group of citizens into an 'egalitarian' state. This can be seen as a means of improving certain financial and class situations in a highly stratified society like Athens, but it was hardly egalitarian and still ensured that the woman would have a lesser overall status than her new husband. Indeed if a man married a wealthier woman, he was seen as giving up his appropriate power and would therefore, ultimately, face ruin.[32] So the portrayal of rape in Menander may be seen as a plot device meant to move the story forward. It may mirror actual societal ideologies in terms of the lesser status of women and a 'less serious' attitude towards rape and sexual violence in antiquity, where the feelings of the victims are never explored.[33] What to make then of a world where sexual violence and rape may be a simple plot device and may now be framed within the overall context of comedy and its jokes and slapstick violence? One interesting way to think about this question is to look at the representations of Hermaphroditus, the dual-sex child of Hermes and Aphrodite, and Pan the half-goat god, two divine beings whose liminal/dual status may illustrate how one looked at this new issue.

Though there are possible references to dual-sex beings or beings able to procreate with themselves earlier, the cult of Hermaphroditus seems to have begun in the fourth century BCE in Athens, with the earliest textual mention in Theophrastus' *Characters* 16.[34] Although s/he has functions of both apotropaism and fertility, Hermaphroditus' powers and affects are hard to pin down, much like her gender. What does seem to have happened in representations of the figure is that over time, into the Hellenistic period, they became more feminised – a sensual and beautiful young woman who happened to have a penis, rather than a

male figure with breasts or a figure of indeterminate sex/gender.[35] This new typology allowed for artists to begin to play with the ways in which the body could be placed, revealing certain sections and hiding others in a display that created a voyeuristic spectacle. The visual/display context allowed the artist essentially to play 'cat and mouse' with the viewer as one saw a female nymph from one angle and then was surprised by the penis from another angle. It is this 'play' that has often drawn critics to see a certain amount of humour in images of this divinity, whether that is meant to be inherent in this figure or in the display/voyeur contexts that s/he allows. So what then to make of an image that uses this ability to distort and cover/reveal, to 'play' with the viewer when it represents sexual violence?

The image of an hermaphrodite struggling to fight off the advances of Pan or a satyr is known from some 28 copies, mostly from an Italian context (see Fig. 8.6).[36] Here, this *symplegma* is seen from the back and seems to show a nymph being attacked and rebuffing 'her' would-be attacker with a hand to the face. When one looks at the scene from the opposite angle, one then notices the penis on the 'nymph' transforming 'her' into an hermaphrodite. This tends, as some critics have seen, to make the image seem humorous, as the unexpected revelation adds another layer to the visuals. The libidinous satyr and the beautiful 'nymph' were clearly meant to invoke the sexual, but the transformation into an hermaphrodite (when seen from a different angle) now brings in a host of other visual/emotional experiences, not the least being that moment when the viewer humorously realises that the sculptor has successfully duped him/her.[37] While these interpretations are plausible, they sit uneasily beside the underlying violence of the piece, as an individual is attacked, a rape is attempted, and the attacker is fought off. As with



Figure 8.6 Photo of an hermaphrodite struggling against Pan from Oplontis. Naples Archaeological Museum, Naples, Italy, Mus. Inv. No. 72800/OP 2800. Photo: Craig Hardiman. © Su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attivita Culturali e del Turismo, Naples MAN.

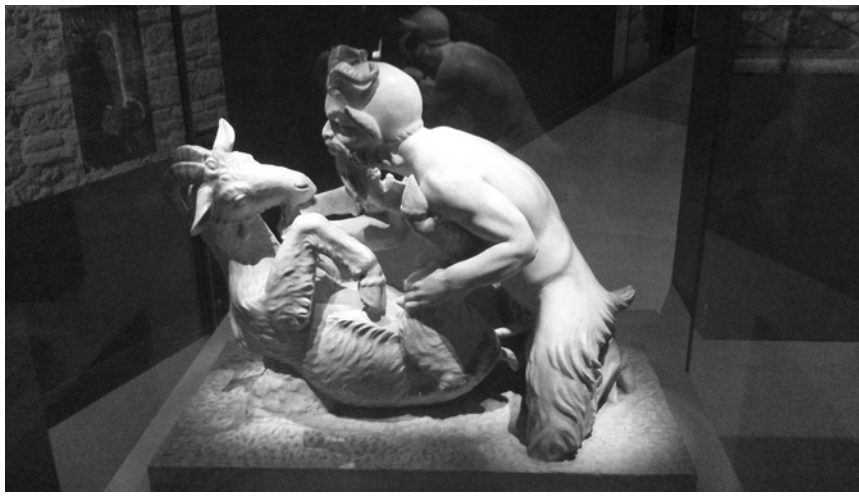


Figure 8.7 Pan having sexual relations with a goat. Naples Archaeological Museum, Naples, Italy, Mus. Inv. No. 27709. Photo: Craig Hardiman. © Su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attivita Culturali e del Turismo, Naples MAN.

New Comedy, the act of rape may be used in association with humour, even if here the violated fights back in a way that they do not in the plays. The issue may be complicated by other versions of this group that show the hermaphrodite as both larger and in a seemingly 'superior' position to the satyr.[38] Does this lessen the violence implied, or does it make the scene more humorous given the disparities, even though the act(ion) is the same? And what of the viewer seeing this act – does s/he laugh? Cry? Brush the piece aside? Andrew Stewart has discussed how the very act of viewing and of voyeurism for pieces involving these and similar sexual images is in and of itself an act of violence. We, as viewers, actively participate in the violence being depicted, though presumably men and women would have different reactions. In his discussion of the union between Aphrodite and Ares, Stewart sees (for the ancients) the humour in being caught in the act, of the warrior Ares being transformed into a lovesick boy, no longer a man.[39] Should we feel the same about the satyr?

Like Hermaphroditus, satyrs and especially the god Pan were liminal creatures, in this case inter-species rather than inter-sex.[40] In spite of being a complex deity, Pan (and his brethren) is often depicted in Hellenistic art giving in to his wild and libidinous nature. In one statue, he seems to be showing the shepherd Daphnis how to play the Pan-pipes, but he leers at the boy in a manner suggestive of sexual desire.[41] In another statue, Pan advances on Aphrodite, only to be rebuked with the slap of a slipper, as he seemingly takes the place of Ares as viewer/interloper of the bathing goddess.[42] In another, perhaps more germane image, the god Pan is having sexual relations with a goat in what seems to be a violent manner (Fig. 8.7).[43] While none of the images seems to point to a rape as much

as the hermaphrodite-Pan statues (we cannot know if the goat consented), the message of a sexually aggressive half-man half-beast seems clear. James Robson has discussed how stories of bestial rape in Greek mythology can serve multiple purposes, all of which re-inforce traditional male–female or human–divine relationships.[44] But Pan necessarily transgresses these boundaries as male, divine and beast all at once, so his sexual violence can neither reinforce norms, nor can it in any way act as a civilising, aetiological or restorative act as is often the case with deities.[45] So the images of Pan as sexual violator are, in a sense subversive, but it is difficult to tell if this subversion is typical of numerous other versions of gender/sexual subversion or inversion, in cult and ritual, or if it simply allows for humour.[46] Hermaphroditus likewise is at once male, female, and divine, and may have provided a similar figure with which to handle this subject. S/he too plays no part in traditional roles and so may act as a distancing effect that would allow the 'humour' of these sexually violent scenes to be a factor. Still, it is telling that the artists chose to depict Hermaphroditus most often in the Hellenistic period as a sensuous, beautiful woman who just happens to have a penis.

At the beginning of Menander's play *Dyskolos*, Pan sets the scene for the audience by letting them know that he has made Sostratus, a loyal devotee, fall in love with his neighbour's daughter. This seems innocent enough as Pan acts more like Eros than a bestial sex-craved divinity, but it underlies the power that the god had. He could make one passionately fall for someone, to love and lust after someone, and to put it all within the framework of a humorous play. Pan, as divine but with very mortal/animal desires, could act as a distancing effect for the audience and allow them to sit back and enjoy the spectacle. In the fourth century, the actor would have had a Pan mask and likely a large phallus for his costume. This visual connection made a strong impact on the audience and would have led to numerous associations in the viewer's mind – Pan, sex, wild-sex, humour.[47] The same could be said of Hermaphroditus, a divinity who invoked many of the same associations with many of the same visual, bodily cues. This may be the reason why both of these figures may be used in sculptures of sexual violence, somehow making it all seem 'funny' and remote. They are, after all, fulfilling their place in the mythological world. But these images were placed in the real world, with real people, real sexual violence, and a real social interaction. Such images were now out in the public and no longer relegated to the pottery of the private world. Sitting alongside pieces that spoke of mythological battles, martial glory, and real violence, these statues of sexual violence must have had some relation to these pieces given their violent depictions, one that went beyond humour. By the Hellenistic period, these images of sexual violence, like their subjects, may have been liminal and sitting in both the violent and humorous worlds.[48] If so, what does that then say of the Hellenistic audience? One can only speculate but it seems that these divinities, much like their very natures, straddled a line that may have allowed the viewer to feel both revulsion and amusement, and to see both the wit and the absurdity of an image that was at once tragic and comic. While the nature of these two divinities can act as a distancing mechanism to 'allow' one to see the humour in the piece, it is also true that much of what is revealed in these types of pieces

can be seen as explicitly 'supra violent', or acts taking part in a world beyond ours of supreme violence and aggression.[49] This could highlight and even underline the 'foreign' nature of the act and thus both distance the viewer and make him/her see this violent world for what it is and be happy that they are not a part of it. Paradoxically, it may even be that the more emotional renderings of violence have a similar effect. Though a viewer may be drawn in by the emotional depiction, it is still that very emotion that is the focus and not the overall subject, thus disorienting the viewer in the same way that a piece like the Pan and Hermaphroditus sculpture does – one is both drawn in and at the same time repulsed.[50] The very nature of an hermaphrodite's alterity – the ultimate 'other' that is simultaneously 'us' – allows the viewer to see this image through the lens of what has been termed a 'psychological safety valve', such that the comedy and the tragedy of the scene can be compressed. It both reflects and is reflective upon the viewer and the society at large, whereby the satyr is the beast (within us?) that must always be struggled against, but the hermaphrodite's position as both other and us may have been a new way of mediating old issues of male dominance and patriarchal values in the socio-cultural realities of the Hellenistic period.[51]

Notes

1 In general, see Hurwit (1985); Stewart (2008); Ridgway (1999); Seidensticker and Vöhler (2006); Bakogianni and Hope (2015). Though dealing with actual warfare, van Wees (2000) is helpful with regard to several specific artistic pieces.
2 Though dealing with the interpretation of one of the friezes, Schultz (2009: esp. 161, n. 9), has references to earlier scholarship on the historical nature of the other sides. Also Jarratt *et al*. (2015: 1–7), with reference to the digital reconstruction of the temple and its friezes at www.nikeisnow.co.uk.
3 Thus the tradition of dedicatory statues that 'celebrated' one's achievements culturally but were still couched in the visual and epigraphical language of gifts, to gods or from a grateful person or polis. See, for example, Ma (2013).
4 There are several chapters in this volume that may illuminate such issues. Champion's chapter posits that such illustrations may highlight the differences between the violent lives or mortals and the more peaceful lives of deities, who are above such mortal concerns. It is important to note, however, the differences that may have existed among individual poleis, sanctuaries, and larger states like Macedonia. Unfortunately, our material evidence is too scarce.
5 Cohen (2010).
6 Cohen (2010: 76–8).
7 Paus. 10.9.7–10.5. Ridgway (1997: 240–43, 268–9 ns. 8–12). The statue base beside the Athenian treasury had the inscription 'as offering from the battle of Marathon' (*GHI*3 19) and originally had 10 statues, with 3 more being added at various stages. See Amandry (1998: 75–90). On dedicatory statues, see Ma (2013).
8 Paus. 5.22.3–4, 5.28.8–10. See Ioakamidou (1997: 82–7, 92–7, 213–25, 243–55); Barringer (2010: 174–76, 155–77).
9 The total number of figures in the monument is debateable based on the ancient sources and given whether one includes infantry and possible Persian enemies. A summary and convenient table may be found in Stewart (1993: 123–30).
10 This piece is a Roman statuette from Herculaneum thought to be in the tradition of the Granicus monument 'Alexander on Horseback', Naples MAN 4996. See Ridgway (1990: 119–21); Stewart (1993: 127–8); Picón and Hemingway (2016: cat. no. 15, 114–15).

11 Calcani (1989) collects many of the artistic precedents that may have helped Lysippus come up with his creation.
12 Stewart (1993: 32–41, 126–9).
13 Chaniotis discusses the general theatrical tenor of the Hellenistic Age, noting that the art, but especially the 'performances' of statesmen and royals, all relied on spectacle to play on the emotions of the audience. This led, in large urban centres, at least, to lead the people to become 'a society of onlookers'. See Chaniotis (1997: 219–59). One thinks of the links between the Asian style of Hellenistic rhetoric and the Hellenistic baroque, both full of emotional resonances. See Stewart (2004: 228–32).
14 See Hofkes-Brukker and Mallwitz (1975); Madigan and Cooper (1992: 70–100); Ridgway (1997: 14–17, 28, 33, 41, 44).
15 Stewart (1977); Ridgway (1997: 50, 71 n. 56). Also the several essays in Katsonopoulou and Stewart (2013).
16 Hanson (1971: 27–32, 114–22, 219–61); Ridgway (2000: 19–66); Stewart (2000: 32–57).
17 In one panel the goddess Persephone (or perhaps Nyx) is preparing to launch a jar of snakes at an opposing giant. This may make reference to an actual naval battle, where the Carthaginian general Hannibal launched such weapons on to the unsuspecting ships of the combined Pergamene and Roman forces. Nep. *Hannibal*, 23.10–11. There are examples of more 'historicising' depictions of the Pergamenes' battles, most notably the so-called Greater and Lesser Attalid dedications. Such works were erected at Pergamum in several locations, Athens, and Delphi, with more traditional 'allegorical' works at Pergamum (the Great Altar) and at Delos. See Marszal (2000: 191–234); Stewart (2004: 181–236).
18 In general see Lefkowitz (1993: 17–37); Zeitlin (1986: 122–51). Also, Stewart (1995: 74–90). The term 'rape' is naturally problematic as the concept was different in antiquity and several words were used to describe different acts. See Harris (1997). Nonetheless, the act(ion) did take place and so it is hoped the reader understands the modern/English usage of 'rape' and 'sexual violence' in this chapter.
19 See Oakley and Sinos (1993); Robson (2013: 3–24).
20 Arafat (1997: 97–9).
21 Hamburg 1981.173. Schauenburg (1975: 97–121); Pinney (1984: 181–3); Arafat (1997: 101–4); Kilmer (1997: 135–8).
22 Dover (1978: 105).
23 Arafat (1997: 109–7).
24 Dover (1984: 146); Just (1989: 68–9); Cohen (1993: 5–16); Carey (1995: 407–17); Ogden (1997: 25–41).
25 Kilmer (1997: 124).
26 Stewart (1997: 156) established the rough date ranges for sexual scenes, scenes of divine/heroic pursuits and of ephebic pursuits and sees these as visual manifestations of the 'self-assertively sovereign Athenian citizen'. There are naturally examples of all three outside these ranges, but taken together (especially the sexually explicit scenes) they all peak between 475 and 450 BCE.
27 For a survey see Parker (2015: 23–142). Also Stewart (1997: 156–81).
28 What has been called by some as 'scopic regimes'. Based on the works of Sartre and Lacan, these 'scopic regimes' rely not only on theories of the glance and the gaze, but also the ancient notions of the 'public eye' – the cultural norms and mores that inform viewing and the ways in which the culture self-regulated its citizens' understanding of what they were looking at. Stewart (1997: 13–16).
29 As in the *Dyskolos* and the *Geōrgos*. On this theme in New Comedy, see Konstan (1995: 141–52); Pierce (1997: 163–84); Scafuro (1997: 238–78); Rosivach (1998: 113–50); Lape (2001: 79–120).
30 Men. *Epit.* 451–52; *Sam.* 41–54; Pierce (1997: 164).
31 Lape (2004: 24–30).

32 As in the play *Misogunēs*. See Lape (2004: 29).
33 While rape was a crime and an actionable offence in places like Classical and Hellenistic Athens, it is clear that the attitudes towards such crimes were very different. Pierce (1997) examines these issues in New Comedy, noting that Menander 'does not seem to depict rape as an act of violence' (p. 170), Plautus is 'light-hearted' in his view of rape and makes of it 'a petty insult' (p. 173), and that Terrance's representations of rape can at times be 'sinister and sleazy' (p. 176). So while sexual violence may simply be a plot device, it does tend to mirror societal mores and real cultural attitudes (p. 178–9).
34 Ajootian (1997: 220–21).
35 This may have been an Italian development but seems to have occurred during the Hellenistic period. One of the earliest such examples is the Sleeping Hermaphrodite type, said by Plin. *HN* 34.80 to have been created in the second century BCE by Polycles, a Greek artist, but possibly for a Roman setting. A contemporary version has been found at Pergamon. Ajootian (1997: 220–21, 231).
36 Ajootian (1997: 231–5); Ridgway (2000: 287–8); Oehmke (2004: 34–41). This particular version is from the Villa at Oplontis, inv. no. 72800 (OP 2800). De Caro (1987: cat. no. 12, 98–101); Picón and Hemingway (2016: cat. no. 226, 281–2). In general, with special attention to the Hermaphrodite's mythology, see Brisson (1997: 41–99).
37 Surveys such as Pollitt (1986: 130–31), will label such a work as 'rococo' implying humour, though Pollitt suggests some of the humour may be directed at overly bombastic 'baroque' works of the same period. Stewart (2014: 191–3) places this under the heading of 'Love Children' and pieces about desire and sexuality. Ridgway (2002: 91–2) notes that the likely setting of the piece in a garden may have added a 'sylvan' dimension, with the image allegorising the struggle between the orderly (Hermaphrodite) and the wild (Pan) in nature.
38 Ajootian (1997: 233–5); Oehmke (2004: 34–6).
39 Stewart (1997: 13–20, 228–30). On the Ares being 'un-manned' by gazing at Aphrodite, see ibid. (p. 97–106); Stewart (2014: 179–84). For a parallel with a painting of Alexander the Great as Ares and Roxanne as Aphrodite, see Stewart (1993: 184–90).
40 Borgeaud (1988).
41 Pan and Daphnis, Naples MAN 6329. See Pollitt (1986: 130–31); Masséglia (2015: 217–18).
42 'Slipper Slapper' Group, Athens NAM 3335. See Pollitt (1986: 130–31); Ridgway (2000: 174–49); Stewart (2014: 170–71).
43 Pan and Goat, Naples MAN 27709. Mattusch (2005: 155–6); Fisher and Langlands (2015: 86–110).
44 Robson (1997: 74–8).
45 In the Archaic and Classical periods, satyrs and silens may have acted as mediating forces between the human and divine realms or as mirrors of contemporary society. See Isler-Kerény (2004). By the fourth century many sculptors had changed their vision of satyrs to something more human and youthful, perhaps eschewing the beastly image for a more gentile and beautiful subject. See Stewart (1997: 199–202). By the Hellenistic period, Pan is in his full half-man, half-goat guise, with an emphasis seemingly on his wild, animal qualities.
46 Kilmer (1997: 134–5, 139) sees humour in a bell krater (Boston MFA 10.185) showing Pan chasing after a shepherd with an erect phallus. The shepherd brandishes a whip half-heartedly (adding to the humour?) and Kilmer suggests an Athenian audience may even have been envious of the animal, sexual freedom of the god.
47 On the intervisuality of Menander's work and the power and politics of the gaze in the fourth century, see Petrides (2014: 246–80).
48 For a fourth-century parallel, see Cohen (2010: 162–86), for images of military violence as 'rape'.
49 Stewart (1997: 183–91) sees the satyr as a wild counterpart to the *sōphrosynē* ('civilized self-control') of the polis. He also discusses the 'civilizing' of the satyr

in the fourth century BCE with new depictions presenting the creatures as a kind of eroticised youth where, in the world of Theocritus, everything is about play (p. 199–202). Could the hermaphrodite be a Hellenistic/female version of this eroticised male youth (and also a male) and does that shift the nature of the acts, with the satyr, from homoerotic/homosocial play to more typical gendered roles?

50 Stewart (1996: 141) lays out seven possible reasons why a woman's mirror might depict a scene of rape. Any one or multiple reasons may be plausible, but it illustrates how a female viewer might have multiple reactions (personal or socio-cultural), some positive and some negative, to the one violent image.

51 Stewart (1997: 225–6) refers to grotesques as 'outsiders inside' and as a 'psychological safety valve' that acted as a catharsis. Stewart also mentions how the old erotic vase painting gave way to more 'civilized' imagery, presenting sex as either bestial or as a romantic fantasy (1997: 171). One wonders if this new imagery of sexual violence may be accounted for as a new way of dealing with old issues (sex, sexuality, violence, patriarchal attitudes), though in typical Hellenistic visual play. Says Stewart of the images of the sleeping Hermaphrodite, 'Nothing illustrates the Hellenistic world's sensitivity to gender, the body, and desire better than this ironic womanizing of the would-be super male – me the viewer . . .' (1997: 230). Though sensitive in terms of acknowledging the existence and complexity of the issues, one wonders if this gender (inter)play allowed for issues like sexual violence that had been played out in the private realm to now be made public.

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9 ‘A pleasure to gaze on great conflicts’

Violence and Epicurean philosophy

Michael Champion

Freedom from danger – physical and mental – lies at the heart of Epicurean ethics and political philosophy. For the Epicurean, Lucretius insists, ‘nature shouts out for nothing so much as pain absent from the body and the enjoyment in mind and sense when anxiety and fear have been removed’ (*DRN* 2.17–19).[1] As Lucretius writes: ‘it is even a pleasure to gaze on great conflicts of war drawn up in battle array over the plains if one has no share in the danger’ (*DRN* 2.5–6).[2] Yet as Epicurus was constructing his new philosophy, war shaped the lives of citizens and the political arrangements of city states, danger threatened the security of communities and individuals, the changed social, economic, and ethnic composition of cities led to both new cosmopolitanism and violently inflected social inequality, and the emerging power of kings relativised civic power, making it more contingent on the power politics of dominant individuals. What to do about the relationship between this violent cultural background and the distinctive features of Hellenistic philosophy has been controversial. This chapter briefly revisits the debate, before investigating some key ideas and images relating to violence in Epicurean ethics and political philosophy. It seeks to move beyond earlier grand narratives of an alleged Hellenistic decline of reason and the interiorisation of philosophy, and put the accent on social relations in Epicurean philosophy in the context of violence broadly conceived. An Epicurean view of violence acknowledges diverse physical and material violence: military threats, and threats to status, power, and wealth. It also includes emotional and psychological violence, as well as systemic violence embedded in social orders. This chapter aims to investigate both how key concepts and images in Epicurean ethics and political philosophy, especially *ἀταραξία* and ἀσφάλεια, and accounts of political involvement, justice, the development of human society, socially destructive passions, and friendship could offer a framework for perceiving violence even as they were themselves simultaneously shaped by the diverse violences of the Hellenistic world.[3]

Situating Epicurean philosophy: some historiographical considerations

> An important change took place in philosophy, as in the whole sphere of Greek thought, after the end of the fourth century, under the influence of the conditions brought about by Alexander’s conquests.[4]

The modern historiography of Hellenistic philosophy remains coloured by the monumental history of Eduard Zeller (1814–1908).[5] For Zeller, the violent external shocks associated with warfare and political reorganisation during the Hellenistic period drove philosophy towards an inward-looking ethics. In Zeller's view, while the transition from polis to larger kingdoms was associated with cosmopolitan movements in Hellenistic philosophy, the uncertainties and violence of the times led to an emphasis on both the need for independence from externals and the possibility for self-satisfaction.[6] Philosophers thus attempted to escape from the alleged struggle for subsistence through introspective ethical contemplation. They thought that 'the chief virtue of philosophy should be sought more and more in the fact that [philosophy] provided men with a refuge against the miseries of life'; this 'mission of philosophy could only be satisfied when the individual made himself independent of all external things and withdrew into his inner life'.[7] The greater emphasis on philosophy as therapy in Hellenistic philosophy and Epicureanism in particular (e.g. *Sent. Vat.* 54; Diogenes of Oenoanda fr. 2 [Smith 1993]; Porph. *Marc.* 31) is thus explained as an attempt by philosophers to inoculate themselves against the anxieties and dangers of a violent Hellenistic world.[8]

Zeller's view of how to go about the history of philosophy caused him to look for evidence for cultural conditioning of philosophical systems. He argued that individuals are formed by traditions (cultural and intellectual) and by contemporary situations. Their logical formulations progress in an (albeit moderated) Hegelian fashion from earlier philosophies, always modulated by the mutual interplay of general conditions (culture, religion, politics, the ruling *mentalité*), earlier systems of thought, and the individual characters and dispositions of particular philosophers.[9] Such a view, if stripped of the ideology of necessary logical advance, sounds attractive to those modern historians who insist that thought is culturally situated. It is attractive in the context of a main goal of this volume: to investigate different cultural imaginaries of violence.[10]

Yet we may worry that Zeller's reading of the Hellenistic period plays up its anxieties too much in an attempt to glorify the allegedly superior rationality and civilisation of the Classical period, when, in Zeller's account, 'the pleasure and power of free and purely scientific contemplation of the world' was at its height.[11] We might also worry that strands of cosmopolitanism seem to enter Epicurean philosophy late, under the early Roman empire, for example in the Hadrianic inscription of Diogenes of Oenoanda.[12] Such sentiments, while not inconsistent with Epicurus' desire, for example, to include slaves in his community of philosophers in the Garden, are not so clearly visible in the first generation of Epicurean philosophy, which, as Malcolm Schofield has argued, seems indebted rather more to fifth-century sophistic debates, displaying a conservative political view. It seems that despite Hellenistic political transformations, the Classical polis remained the imagined backdrop for Epicurean political theorising.[13]

In addition to such historical problems, Zeller's approach also threatens to downplay the purely intellectual contributions of Hellenistic philosophy. Why, ask analytic historians of philosophy, should we have recourse to largely unspecified cultural anxieties or the (in any case unknowable) biographical or psychological

experiences and dispositions of Hellenistic philosophers, if intellectual claims can be explained in the light of purely philosophical concerns, particularly by positioning Hellenistic philosophers in the context of contemporary debates informed by earlier philosophers and sophists? At the very least, too great a focus on such factors can play into Zeller's narrative of the intellectual retreat of philosophy in the Hellenistic period.

The recovery of Hellenistic philosophy as an intellectually vibrant enterprise over the last generation of scholarship is ample evidence for the productivity of approaches that foreground the philosophical problems that thinkers of the period grappled with.[14] Nevertheless, the aim of rehabilitating the philosophical reputation of Hellenistic philosophy need not detach it from its larger context. I do not argue that the claims of Epicurean philosophy are determined by Hellenistic violence (or any other cultural phenomenon); nevertheless, its claims provide evidence for one way in which the distinctive, if not unique, cultural characteristics of the Hellenistic period could be understood.[15] In what follows, then, this chapter explores points of contact between key Epicurean ideas and the wider cultural situation, focusing on the question of violence. One of the many dangers of this approach is the potential to seem to be claiming that violence universally characterised Hellenistic society, falling back into Zeller's account of decline following the Classical high water mark. While the other chapters in this volume clearly identify ways in which violence shaped Hellenistic Greece, many other cultural phenomena also coloured Greek society. My claim about Epicurean philosophy, then, is strictly limited: violence is one of the myriad aspects of the cultural life of Hellenistic Greece against which Epicurean philosophy can be understood.[16] Conversely, investigating Epicurean philosophy can provide insight into ways in which violence could be conceptualised and negotiated in the Hellenistic period.

Violence and the language of Epicurean ethical goals: ἀσφάλεια and ἀταραξία

As is well known, Epicurus emphasised 'security' (ἀσφάλεια) and 'freedom from anxiety' (ἀταραξία) in his ethical theory. It is worth investigating briefly how these terms were used in other areas of Greek literature, to identify ways in which they might resonate culturally beyond the technical debates of Epicurean ethics.[17] Such an investigation casts light both on emphases within Epicurean ethics and on ways in which Epicurean thinking could have helped to shape wider cultural responses to Hellenistic violence.

The military connotations of terms like ἀταραξία in writers before Epicurus are clear. In Xenophon, the terms denote the tight ordering of a cavalry formation (Xen. *Eq. mag.* 2.1.4, 4.10.2) or the need to maintain such a formation (Xen. *Eq.* 7.10.2). In his *Cyropaedia* it is a prized quality of a prudential military quartermaster (Xen. *Cyr.* 2.1.31.7). Aristotle ties the term to courage under attack (Arist. *EN* 1117a19), although he can extend that to courage in the face of any fearsome, terrifying circumstance (Arist. *EN* 1117a31). In two philosophical uses of the term, wider psychological features of ἀταραξία appear. In Democritus, as

in Epicurus, ἀταραξία is an element of *eudaimonia*, connected to the harmony and balance of the soul (fr. B167 DK; cf. Epicurus *Ep. Men.* 128).[18] In Aristotle, the gentle man, moved by reason not passion, is ἀτάραχος (Arist. *EN* 1125b34).[19] These philosophical uses of the term are foremost in Epicurus, for whom a properly reasoned knowledge of causes will remove all sources of fear and anxiety and thus lead to the good life (*Ep. Hdt*. 80, 82; *Ep. Pyth*. 85). Mental and emotional violence associated with fear is moderated by understanding intelligible causation. When Epicurus speaks in these and other passages of the fear associated with ignorance he points to the philosophical virtue of courage required by the sage. The military connotations of ἀταραξία remind the reader of the battlefield as the paradigmatic locus of this virtue and cast the Epicurean sage as one who can master emotions of fear and anxiety in the context of such violence. Violence may be overcome by philosophical understanding.

For Epicurus, *ataraxia* depends on the attainment of security, denoted by terms such as ἀσφάλεια, τὸ θαρρεῖν and σωτηρία (e.g. *RS* 6–7; *Sent. Vat.* 31, 33, 80). *Asphaleia* is the central term, and it is worth exploring its uses in detail. Its military connotations are still more dominant than in the case of *ataraxia*, and the term and its cognates are much more common across Greek and Epicurean literature. They primarily describe steadfastness in a military context and the security that arises from military strength. In Homer, we find Hector depicted as a raging stone plunging 'intractably' onwards into the Greek line (*Il*. 13.141 compare *Od.* 13.86). Odysseus is described as standing 'immovably' – in readiness to make his attack (*Od.* 17.235). A rider can hold his chariots and horses 'steady' (*Il*. 13.141, 15.683, 17.434–6). In such passages, ἀσφάλεια denotes bravery and a fixed aggressive intention which secures one from external danger, even as it may throw one into dangerous situations. Similar uses are found in tragedy. 'Impregnable', secure ramparts are described as ἀσφαλές (Aesch. *Pers.* 349); Athena's power is similarly 'secure' (Aesch. *Supp.* 146), while the term is used to denote protection from violent harm (Aesch. *Supp.* 495). The terms are almost uniformly used by historians to denote military security. Thucydides explains the ancient practice of carrying weapons on the basis that since early Greek social interactions were not properly secured by laws, people needed to be able to defend their homes (Thuc. 1.6.1.2; 1.17.1.3). Such security is based on not giving an inch in military matters to one's enemies (Thuc. 1.33.2.9, 1.34.3.5). Xenophon also uses the terms to describe safety from military assault. Across his writings, they are found to describe safe passage secure from military threat (Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.2.3), protection from civil or political attack (Xen. *Hell*. 2.3.28.8), and security presented by a weak or distant enemy (Xen. *Hell*. 4.5.13.5, 4.6.5.4). As in Homer, such security may throw people into danger when it denotes courage in a military encounter (Xen. *Hell*. 4.3.19.3). In tactical handbooks, ἀσφάλεια means dealing safely with external attacks and the security provided by amassing greater manpower, as well as the potential threat posed to civic security by one's mercenaries (e.g. Aen. Tact. *Poliorcetica* 11.10.5, 12.4.4, 13.1.1,4). The orators also use the term most commonly to denote security guaranteed on the basis of military strength. Demosthenes identifies military strength and financial power as the foundations of security (*de pace* 14.1). Warfare

and reverence for the gods generate security for Isocrates (*Or*. 11, 15.9) although the former is more commonly identified as a single cause of security (e.g. *Or*. 4, 53.6, 149.3, 173.2; *Or*. 10, 18.5). Andocides notes that security from military attack can be achieved by negotiation (*de pace* 33.6) and insists that security comes from military power (*de reditu suo* 9.4, 21.7). Such military strength gives one the power to live as one chooses, free from the threat of external attack, a key connotation of ἀσφάλεια. Philip of Macedon's military might restricts Athenian freedom and security (Dem. *de Chersonese* 8). Military power is one central but insufficient element in providing the conditions for people to exercise their freedoms.

What is common across these uses of ἀσφάλεια is the idea that structures (military, political, legal and social) are required in order to allow people to be free. In Isocrates' encomium to Athens, we are told that Athens is great because it is the securest refuge for the weak and unfortunate: in Athens the conditions are provided for them to act freely and thus gain security (*Or*. 4, 41.8, 53.6). A common treasury is one structure, alongside military strength, which allows benefits to be spread across the community so that all can live happily (*Or*. 4, 76); military strength is required to preserve necessities and luxuries of life (*Or*. 11, 15.9), while legal frameworks provide security from swindling (*Or*. 13, 5.5). Demosthenes argues that security is provided by revenues, democracy, military power and alliances, and communal trust and goodwill (Dem. 8.64–6). In a similar fashion, the sophist Gorgias notes that security is incompatible with enmity towards law, justice, gods and the wider community: the one who 'contravenes the law, dissolves justice, corrupts the multitude and dishonours the divine' lives a life full of the greatest dangers and 'does not have *security*' (fr. 11a, lines 100–105 DK).[20] Such uses of ἀσφάλεια draw attention to an implication of the concept of security through military power: power is one element of security, but military force brings security because it is one social power structure among others that enable people to exercise desired freedoms.

These connotations flow over into philosophical discourse.[21] Plato argues that in determining the shape of the best constitution, the law-makers should ensure the constitution is not liable to external attacks or corruption (Pl. *Leg.* 752c–d). Aristotle continues this usage: legislation and the actions and characters of lawgivers should be safe in the sense that they preserve the good functioning of the polis (Arist. *Pol*. 1268b24 cf 1271a3), while some forms of government can be 'safe' in the sense that they martial the sorts of support needed to secure the *polis* from violent overthrow (Arist. *Pol*. 1285a23). For example in Aristotle, democracies are taken to be 'more secure', that is, less open to attack and the subsequent failure of the political system, and faction and strife are more likely in oligarchies than in democracies (Arist. *Pol*. 1302a8), while Sophocles' Oedipus seeks to 'right the state' with secure 'steadfastness' (*OT* 51). In such examples, the idea is that a society is more secure if it has the necessary power to make it less liable to violent attack; the military image now enters politics, but retains much of its original force, while explicitly identifying other political structures required for securing the freedoms of citizens.

Similarly, in medical discourse, the term retains its common military associations as it is transferred into the domain of diagnosis and evaluation of symptoms

(as already operating in the Oedipus passage just cited, where plague is an external attack threatening the security of the city). Illness is conceptualised as a violent attack. For example, the 'more favourable' (Greek) illnesses are those by which the body is seen to be more secure from external attack, since the symptoms are less strong (Hippoc. *Prognostikon* 20.3,5; compare 14.18, 18.18). In the same way, the safest time to operate is when the symptoms are least violent, that is, when the body is not under crippling attack (Hippoc. *Prognostikon* 23.19). Again, the idea of enabling security is not far away: the body can act normally only when it is healthy, that is, strong enough to withstand illness.

Freedom from such assaults is one quality that separates gods from humans. It is therefore unsurprising that the other key strand of the usage of ἀσφάλεια and related terms is its link to understandings of divinity as eternal and immutable. Olympus is 'steady' forever, and human speech imitates divine speech inasmuch as it is 'steadfast' (Hom. *Od.* 6.42, 8.171; Hes. *Theog.* 117). Speaking steadfastly in this way, in Hesiod's *Theogony*, is the domain of gods and kings 'descended from Zeus', and is a key indicator of the justice of human and divine speech (e.g. *Theog.* 85–97). In a highly traditional passage that could also be read as Epicureanism *avant la lettre*, Aeschylus speaks of the 'secure' certainty of divine action, which has nothing to do with wars and violence but rather is painless: 'everything of the gods is free from pain, the gods by no means arm themselves in force' (βίαν δ'/ οὔτιν' ἐξοπλίζει: / πᾶν ἄπονον δαιμονίων) (Aesch. *Supp.* 98–100). Force and violence are absent from divinity, which is characterised as ἀσφαλές and ἄπονον. This traditional view of the gods is held up by Epicureans as a paradigm and goal for human ethics (e.g. Cic. *Tusc*. 1.48; *Nat. D.* 1.43).[22] In seeking to live 'like a god among men' (ὡς θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποις) (Epicurus *Ep. Men.* 135), Epicureans aspire to divine security and freedom from pain. In these terms, the key goals of the Epicurean life are figured, in common with other Greek philosophical schools, as becoming godlike (cf. Pl. *Tht.* 176b), and violence, conceived as the opposite of divinity, is overcome through philosophical therapy which makes the sage become godlike.[23]

Epicurean usage of *asphaleia* thus sits within a long-established set of conventional uses reinforced across historiography, rhetoric, medicine, poetry, and drama, and also displays clear continuities with Classical philosophical and Sophistic political assumptions. The Epicurean good life, in common with conventional Greek ethics, aims towards divinity by rationally achieving freedom from pain, anxiety, and disturbance, thereby attaining absolute security, in the sense of freedom from the violence that otherwise characterises human life in contrast with the eternal peacefulness of divine existence. Epicureanism thus provides a largely traditional account of how the philosophical life can inoculate its practitioners from the sometimes crippling violence associated with communal living.

Epicurus on ἀσφάλεια: withdrawal from violence or structures for peace?

In this connection, it might be thought that such negative freedom and insulation from contemporary violence were best achieved by removing oneself from

society. This, of course, is the most common interpretation of Epicurus' political thought, and one key claim about its distinctiveness (as well as one key element in Zeller's narrative with which we started).[24] We hear that Epicurus urged his followers to avoid political involvement and achieve longed-for security from violence by withdrawing from civic life. Such a view, however, would be a radical departure from the uses of ἀσφάλεια we have been charting, since in other contexts, ἀσφάλεια carries the sense of security that is enabled by social, military, and political power structures. Can this view be sustained?

As others have argued, Epicurus' own biography should give us pause. Momigliano uncovered connections between Epicurus and contemporary Athenian politicians.[25] Diskin Clay pointed to other political elements of Epicurus' writing: he is the only philosopher whose works are dated by reference to the eponymous archon, pointing to an archive of his letters arranged in order of Athenian archon year.[26] As Clay has argued, there is evidence that Epicurus preserved his writings in the Metroon, the 'public records office' of Athens, plausibly to give them the fixed and enduring communal status given to laws and decrees.[27] In such an action, we have evidence for a thinker keyed into political processes, with a keen eye for the importance of institutional structures for the security of ideas. Such a view is congruent with accounts of the political engagement of Epicureans, and Diogenes Laertius' account of Epicurus' advice about licit involvement in political institutions and public life (despite the oft-quoted injunction against politics) (Cic. *Rep.* 1.10; Diog. Laert. 10.119–20).

When we turn to an investigation of his intellectual claims, there is evidence that his account of security is not a mere rejection of civic life.[28] In *RS* 6, Epicurus argues that:

> To be confident from men there was a natural good [of rule and kingship], by which at some time it was possible to procure this for oneself.
>
> Ἕνεκα τοῦ θαρρεῖν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἦν κατὰ φύσιν [ἀρχῆς καὶ βασιλείας] ἀγαθόν, ἐξ ὧν ἄν ποτε τοῦτο οἷός τ' ἦ παρασκευάζεσθαι.

Translators often delete ἀρχῆς καὶ βασιλείας (retained by Arrighetti),[29] leaving some variation of 'In order to obtain security from other people, any means whatever for procuring this was a natural good'.[30] In this reading, Epicurus is suggesting that anything which sets the sage securely apart from other people is a natural good; ἐξ ἀνθρώπων is, in Malcolm Schofield's terms, 'primarily defensive'.[31] This would resonate with ἀσφάλεια as divine isolation from violent and painful negotiation of human power differences. Such security would be security understood as complete independence. But it is also, and perhaps more plausibly, compatible with ἀσφάλεια in the sense of security gained by amassing a strong contingent of supporters that gives one the opportunity to act freely.[32] The military resonances of παρασκευάζεσθαι may be in play in Epicurus' text here – the preparation required to achieve confidence is similar to that which comes from a properly equipped, prepared and readied army. In fact, ἀσφάλεια before Epicurus never means the security of splendid isolation; as we have noted above, it is always the security formed by

military or political arrangements that enable people to exercise the freedoms they desire. Security in this mode is freedom to act, not isolation. That is, in this view, the claim that independence understood as isolation from others is not enough to secure security: the free person depends on a range of power structures (military, political, social) in order to be able to do the things they want to do. Retaining ἀρχῆς καὶ βασιλείας in *RS* 6 provides support: on this reading Epicurus is pointing to the fact that rulers gained strength from other people, and is further arguing that this is a natural good. If this reading is correct, violence is to be moderated in a more traditional way by maintaining civic networks, networks that are themselves coming under pressure in the context of changing political structures of the Hellenistic period.

The next teaching (*RS* 7) continues this case.[33] Some, we are told, wanted to be famous 'considering that they could thus acquire security from people (τὴν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀσφάλειαν)'. Here, the phrase ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, *pace* Schofield, seems positive: one can only gain fame inasmuch as it is bestowed by others, and security comes from fame in the standard sense that fame can confer sufficient power to exercise one's freedoms at will. And Epicurus, far from spurning this form of security, claims it as a natural good: 'if such a life is secure', he claims, 'they obtained a natural good'. But Epicurus is also aware of the fact that some forms of fame do not in fact lead to security. Such people sometimes do not obtain the good they had sought in an attempt to attain a natural good (κατὰ τὸ τῆς φύσεως οἰκεῖον ὠρέχθησαν). Here Epicurus deviates from the earlier thinking about ἀσφάλεια by separating the natural good of security from security gained by human power, but he does not rule out experiencing the natural good by the exercise of force.[34] Striving for such goods is therefore allowed to the extent that they provide security and pleasure.[35]

Can the two be separable and retain the earlier idea that security demands some form of dependency on power structures? Clearly they are not mutually exclusive, but Epicurus does have his own emphases. For one thing, gaining security by maximising worldly power is in vain, Epicurus thinks, if other sources of trouble or pain are not quelled: military success or political power by procuring security with respect to humans is insufficient if it leaves anxiety about things above or below the earth or in general about the infinite (for example by retaining belief in the power of celestial bodies to govern fate, being transfixed by fear of death, or thinking that the gods interfere in people's lives) (*RS* 13, with *Ep. Hdt.* 80–83; *Ep. Pyth.* 85).[36] Here the Epicurean accent is on psychic and mental violence caused by emotional disturbance: freedom from violence is only possible with the elimination of causes of potentially crippling fears and anxieties. The field of violence is extended from physical to mental pain, and the latter is taken to be primary. The philosophical life, then, becomes therapeutic, in the sense that one key end of philosophy is the elimination of violent mental pain.[37]

Yet philosophical speculation alone may not be sufficient for such therapy. Epicurus, of course, believes that it is impossible to hold rationally to the belief that celestial bodies govern fate or that death should trouble people. So one interpretation of his line of thinking here is that he holds to the autonomy of the

intellect, or at least, to the independence of intellectual beliefs from social structures. The individual thinker can free himself from fears and troubles through reason, or, alternatively, remain trapped in irrational fears. If the latter applies, all the enabling social structures in the world will not lead to security, so certain correct beliefs are necessary for security. It is not at all clear, on the other hand, that the correct beliefs are sufficient for security. Certainly, Epicurus goes so far as to identify the greatest form of security in peace and retreat:

> There being security from men up to a point by both resistant[38] power and wealth, the purest security is from peace and withdrawal from the many (*RS* 14).
>
> Τῆς ἀσφαλείας τῆς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γενομένης μέχρι τινὸς δυνάμει τε ἐξερειστικῇ καὶ εὐπορίᾳ, εἰλικρινεστάτη γίνεται ἡ ἐκ τῆς ἡσυχίας καὶ ἐκχωρήσεως τῶν πολλῶν ἀσφάλεια.

But the strength of this acknowledgement is difficult to decide, given the genitive absolute construction (Τῆς ἀσφαλείας τῆς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γενομένης). At its strongest, Epicurus may be arguing that the purest form of security is only possible when a certain degree of freedom based on human power and wealth has been attained. At its weakest, the first clause could be concessive, grudgingly allowing that while wealth and power can guarantee freedom, what one should aim for instead is intellectual autonomy. In either case, Epicurus does not clearly strip *asphaleia* of its connotations of security that comes from supporting structures. While violence can be moderated and avoided by philosophical therapy, by correct reasoning that seeks true causes, and by withdrawal from social interactions marked by violence, the claim that certain civic structures support peaceful existence remains.

Justice, friendship, and causes of social violence

Such a claim is consistent with Epicurean accounts of the origin and maintenance of civic community. Security is obtained by forming communities on the basis of justice (*RS* 31–40).[39] Justice is defined as a contractual agreement promising no mutual harm between members of the community (*RS* 31, 33). The justice necessary for communal living is not possible without such contracts (*RS* 32). Laws are necessary to set guidelines for what is mutually beneficial, and their justice is reciprocally determined by whether or not they promote tranquil mutual association between members of a community (*RS* 37–8).[40] When faced with conflict and insecurity from external sources, the best course of action is to seek similarity with one's interests, and if that proves impossible, to stand back and support what is most productive for the community (*RS* 39). We may infer that the just course of action is to avoid harm by seeking kinship of interests and considering what is most productive overall. Such an arrangement is the goal of communal living:

> As many as have the ability to procure confidence especially from their neighbours, those people lived with each other most pleasantly, having the most secure pledge of assurance.

> Ὅσοι τὴν δύναμιν ἔσχον τοῦ τὸ θαρρεῖν μάλιστα ἐκ τῶν ὁμορρούντων παρασκευάσασθαι, οὗτοι καὶ ἐβίωσαν μετ᾽ ἀλλήλων ἥδιστα τὸ βεβαιότατον πίστωμα ἔχοντες (*RS* 40).[41]

The insistence that security comes from a social contract that enables people to live together is extended by Epicurus' disciple Colotes of Lampsacus (c. 320–post 268 BCE). He argues that political institutions provide security from civic violence.[42] According to Plutarch (*Adv. Col.* 1124d), Colotes argued that:

> The men who appointed laws and usages and established the government of cities by kings and magistrates brought human life into a state of great security and peace and delivered it from turmoil. But if anyone takes all this away, we shall live a life of brutes, and anyone who chances upon another will all but devour him.
>
> τὸν βίον οἱ νόμους διατάξαντες καὶ νόμιμα καὶ τὸ βασιλεύεσθαι τὰς πόλεις καὶ ἄρχεσθαι καταστήσαντες εἰς πολλὴν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ ἡσυχίαν ἔθεντο καὶ θορύβων ἀπήλλαξαν εἰ δέ τις ταῦτα ἀναιρήσει, θηρίων βίον βιωσόμεθα καὶ ὁ προστυχὼν τὸν ἐντυχόντα μονονοὺ κατέδεται.

Colotes makes explicit the connection between *asphaleia* and civic structures that we have discussed in Epicurus' extant works. Civic structures, and institutions, including laws, magistracies, and kings differentiate human society from the savagery of the beasts, free it from tumult, and guarantee stability and tranquillity. In a similar way, friendship provides mutual support and guarantees security.[43] For Epicurus, friendship is the 'greatest thing' 'procured by wisdom to ensure happiness throughout the whole of life' (*RS* 27). It enhances the sage's security more than anything else (*RS* 28).

This insistence on the necessity of social institutions and social relationships continues when the causes of social damage or violence are discussed. We hear that Epicurus held that

> Damage caused by humans happens through hatred, through envy or through contempt, which the sage overcomes by reason.
>
> βλάβας ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἢ διὰ μῖσος ἢ διὰ φθόνον ἢ διὰ καταφρόνησιν γίνεσθαι, ὧν τὸν σοφὸν λογισμῷ περιγίνεσθαι (Diog. Laert. 10.117).

Each of the causes of violence enumerated here has an irreducibly social dimension: envy and contempt work in different directions based on the recognition of social inequality and differentiation, the former typical of the less well-off, the latter typical of the more fortunate; hatred is directed, in ancient as in modern societies, most commonly at those not like us, the economic, ethnic, or gendered 'other'. Cicero's discussion of Epicurean friendship (*Fin.* 1.66–7) explicitly makes friendship an antidote to these three evils. 'Just as hatred, jealousy, and contempt are hindrances to pleasure', Cicero argues, 'so friendship is the most trustworthy preserver and also creator of pleasure alike for our friends and for

ourselves' (Rackham translation).[44] Friendship, understood as an institution of relationship between social equals, eliminates the passions attendant on social inequality, since 'we rejoice in our friends' joy as much as in our own, and are equally pained by their sorrows'.[45] In cultivating friendships, the Epicurean minimises the potential for violence by cultivating communities of social equality. Such a view can be seen in part as a traditional statement of the importance of elite friendships and civic networks in the context of the claims to exceptional social status made by kings in the period.

Of the three causes of social violence, envy seems to be the vice most in Epicurus' sights (the terms for 'hatred' and 'contempt' do not appear in his extant works). He argues that we must in no way envy others, since the good do not deserve such treatment (*Sent. Vat.* 53), and in any case, reasoned investigation reveals that very little is needed to obtain happiness (*RS* 15, *Sent. Vat.* 25, 44). This builds on a long history of identifying envy as a cause of *stasis* across philosophical and poetic traditions, as argued by the later Epicurean philosopher Philodemus of Gadara (c. 110–c. 40/35 BCE) in his *On the Good King according to Homer*.[46] Philodemus' treatment of 'envy' (*PHerc.* 1678) is congruent with this account.[47] Envy is a particularly horrible passion (μοχθηρὰ πράτ[τ]ειν) which leads to bestiality and savagery (fr. 3.1, 6.4–5 Guerra). It is thus the passion that threatens to return societies to the violence of communities without law and justice. It is a socially destructive passion, generated by improper evaluation of the weight that should be given to inequalities of wealth, power, or beauty. To guard against envy, one should recognise the ultimate insignificance of external goods for happiness (fr. 14.1–6, 17.1–7). The sage should also cultivate philanthropy and prioritise civic cohesion, recognising that unequal wealth is often a great benefit to cities as a whole (fr. 18.1–9). In such treatments, there is evident social conservatism. Yet attempting to stand outside this system of social inequality could be parsed as resistance; Long has pointed to the role of 'self-mastery' (*enkrateia*) – for Epicurus centrally connected to *ataraxia* – and wider philosophical commitments that 'involve a reconstitution of the socio-political world'.[48] The renunciation of external goods involves an invitation to construct simultaneously both a new form of self-hood and a new society. But significantly for our purposes, the potentially violent passions of hatred, envy, or contempt are eradicated by the philosophical therapy of understanding the reasons for how the world is and how happiness is obtained. We are finally drawn back to the claim that philosophical training can eliminate suffering associated with systemic violence.

Epicurean ethics and Hellenistic violence

We began with Lucretius' arresting claim that it is a pleasure to gaze on great battles, since, from one's secure vantage point, it is possible to gain a clear view of the troubles from which one is free (*DRN* 2.1–61). From such a tranquil viewing platform, the sage can observe and recognise the ultimate futility of the agonistic conflicts, class antagonism, and striving for wealth or status at the heart of the painful, dangerous, and violent experience of ignorant humanity. Such toil caused

by the desire to reach the top of an unequal society is alien to the sage, Lucretius argues, since freedom from physical pain and mental distress are possible without it. The body needs only small comforts, not the luxuries of kings, to avoid pain. Fear and anxiety can attend the wealthiest monarch, but violent terror can be dispelled by reasoned, philosophical understanding of nature.

This account captures much of the Epicurean political philosophy we have traced, but in Lucretius' claim that fear and anxieties are not beaten off by the arms and weapons of military power, there is a measure of overstatement. Certainly, fear and anxiety about death and future punishment can attack even the strongest military commander. But in reconstructing meanings associated with the key Epicurean terms *ataraxia* and *asphaleia*, military resonances of the terms played a role in making plausible the claim that security and freedom from anxiety require some degree of enabling structural power and stability. Civic institutions and the support of communal networks, for Epicurus, make it possible for the sage to attain to the divinely tranquil vantage point Lucretius praises. The gods, after all, live in supreme freedom from pain and have no need of arms precisely because they are more powerful than the most deadly weapon. Similarly, the sage achieves freedom from the violence of the world in a political community where contracts between people are honoured, the rule of law guarantees justice, there is sufficient civic wealth and military power to preserve the polis from external threat, and where friendships transcend the social inequalities that would otherwise lead to violence. The sage also needs philosophy, both as a rational therapy to calm fears and passions and, simultaneously, as the practice of reason that leads to knowledge of causes, the nature of the world, and what is necessary for happiness. This knowledge is what makes the Epicurean sage become godlike, in freedom from physical, political, social, mental, and emotional violence. But such knowledge does not merely transport the sage to some disembodied state of splendid isolation or collapse philosophy into an interior ethical realm; rather, he lives as a god who remains among men (ὡς θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποις).

The resulting philosophy both resonates with the violence of the age and provides contemporary Athenians with a significant matrix of arguments through which to perceive, interpret, and conceptualise violence. I have argued that Epicurean philosophy viewed violence as physical, discursive, and affective, and, crucially, embedded in the more marked social inequalities that characterised the Hellenistic period. We have seen Epicurus and his followers utilising military connotations to make sense of key terms in his ethical theory. The terror of battle is invoked to make the ethical ideal of tranquillity and removal from the agonistic world of Hellenistic culture attractive, in the context also of increasingly competitive displays of status in contemporary society. Violence is explained through related accounts of individuals striving against each other for advantage, as well as through a complex of individual passions (hatred, envy, and contempt). Both of these explanations also point to the underlying violence of social inequality. Violence can be figured as immoderate passion, mental disturbance, physical pain, ultimately vain social competition, and damaging inequality of class, status, or ethnicity. Each of these perceptions of violence

resonates with other areas of Hellenistic life charted elsewhere in this volume – in increasingly emotional historiographical accounts, public proclamations and artistic representations, heightened agonistic display of the kings, civic leaders and city states, continual military confrontation, and in increasingly diverse communities marked by more visible social inequalities. Epicurus' antidotes to such violence include justice defined as the maintenance of mutual advantage, and friendship which overcomes fixation on inequality. His ultimate solution, the philosophical understanding of physical causes which banishes fear and anxiety and leads to the tranquil and secure life of the gods, establishes philosophy as a fixed point of peaceful stability always bound up in, and essential for navigating, an otherwise violent world.

Notes

1 nihil aliud sibi naturam latrare, nisi ut qui / corpore seiunctus dolor absit, mente fruatur / iucundo sensu cura semota metuque? Compare Epicurus, *Ep. Men.* 128; *Sent. Vat.* 79; *RS* 17. I would like to thank Lara O'Sullivan, Sarah Gador-Whyte and Sonya Wurster for comments on this chapter.
2 suave etiam belli certamina magna tueri / per campos instructa tua sine parte pericli.
3 The focus of the chapter is on Epicurus himself, but it will at times look forward to later thinkers to augment the analysis and point to longer-term patterns. I follow David Sedley's case that Lucretius is predominantly faithful to Epicurus' philosophy, although the cultural referent for metaphors and images from Lucretius is Republican (Hellenistic) Roman rather than from Epicurus' own culture, so Lucretius will be used sparingly. See Sedley (1998); cf. Clay (1983).
4 Zeller (1886: 31).
5 Zeller (1844). I have used the English translation in note 4 above. Malcolm Schofield (1999: 739–40) briefly surveys influential negative assessments of Hellenistic political philosophy indebted to Zeller. Long (1986: 247) takes Zeller as authoritative for later negative assessments of Hellenistic philosophy, and takes issue with Bevan (1913: 32). Gadamer (1996: 26) notes that Zeller's adaptation and moderation of Hegel kept a Hegelian evolutionary view of the history of philosophy in play. For Zeller's larger role in nineteenth-century intellectual history, see Zachhuber (2013: 96–123).
6 Zeller (1886: 31–2).
7 Zeller (1886: 228–9).
8 On philosophy as therapeutic, see Nussbaum (2009).
9 Zeller (1886: 2–4).
10 For analysis of Zeller's historiography, see Heit (2015: 1–18, esp. 6–8).
11 Zeller (1886: 228).
12 On this inscription, see the report of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut excavation, together with the large associated bibliography and reports on each season at http://www.dainst.org/projekt/-/project-display/48576. Citations of the fragments are from Smith (1993). Such cosmopolitanism is also a feature of imperial Stoic thought.
13 Schofield (1999: 769–70). See also Schofield (2006: 441–3). Long (2006) is more positive about the radical new possibilities of Hellenistic ethics.
14 See e.g. Algra *et al.* (2008); Annas (1992); Frede (1987); Long and Sedley (1987); Long (2006); Sharples (1996); Sorabji and Sharples (2007).
15 I agree with Long (2006: 4), while using Epicurean claims to illumine wider social characteristics: 'It has been commonly said that Hellenistic philosophy derives much of its special character from social and political crisis . . . It is not clear, however, that this is explanatory or even true'.

16 Investigating Epicurean philosophy against the cultural backdrop of violence gives insight into Athenian responses to violence (the setting in which Epicurean philosophy was developed) which could then resonate across the Hellenistic world (as suggested by the spread of Epicurean ideas).
17 The following overview cannot be exhaustive, but aims nevertheless to be broadly representative. *TLG* searches display approximately 600 uses of ἀσφάλεια and related terms before Epicurus in Greek literature. ἀταραξία and cognates are much less common, with fewer than 20 uses before Epicurus.
18 See also Stob. ii.7,3; Sen. *Tranq.* 2. See further Taylor (1995).
19 For Democritus and Epicurus' ethics, see Warren (2002).
20 καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ἀσφαλείας [ὧν] οὕνεκά τις ἂν ταῦτα πράξαι. πᾶσι γὰρ ὅ γε προδότης πολέμιος, τῶι νόμωι, τῆι δίκηι, τοῖς θεοῖς, τῶι πλήθει τῶν ἀνθρώπων· τὸν μὲν γὰρ νόμον παραβαίνει, τὴν δὲ δίκην καταλύει, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος διαφθείρει, τὸ δὲ θεῖον ἀτιμάζει. ὧι δὲ τοιοῦτος <ὁ>βίος περὶ κινδύνων τῶν μεγίστων, οὐκ ἔχει ἀσφάλειαν.
21 The strength of philosophical discourse itself can be figured in military terms using this terminology. Plato speaks of the 'safest answer' or 'most secure' definitions (Pl. *Phd.* 100d–e; cf. *Plt.* 262b–c, *Phlb.* 61d, 62e; *Leg.* 893a–b) which cannot be overthrown (πεσεῖν: a term also used in military contexts) in argument.
22 On this theme in Epicurean thought, and its debts to Platonism, see Erler (2002: 159–82). Erler (p. 161) draws attention to Sextus' criticism of Epicureans for suggesting that humans can attain to divine happiness (*M.* 9,43–7 = 23 F, 3 (Long and Sedley 1987). See Festugiere (1968: 36–100) for Philodemus on becoming like god.
23 On philosophy, Platonism and becoming like god, see Sedley (1999: 309–28).
24 See now, however, Roskam (2007) for a different view. This study informs the following discussion.
25 Momigliano (1935).
26 Clay (1998: 41–2).
27 Clay (1998: 43, with extended argument 43–50). Clay notes (p. 48, n. 45) that Heraclitus is known to have deposited his works in a public place, in his case the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus. The concern for preservation is therefore not original, but Epicurus is the only philosopher for whom we have evidence of seeking to preserve his works in a political institution. This provides reason to be less sure that Epicurus was 'realistically sceptical' about social institutions than is Fowler (2007: 430).
28 Roskam (2007: 37–41) takes a similar line on the basis of exegesis of *RS* 6–7, 14, 39–40, 58, 81. His detailed and helpful arguments inform the following discussion.
29 Arrighetti (1973).
30 E.g. Bailey (1926); Hicks (Loeb translation, 1925). Cf. Inwood and Gerson (1997: 32).
31 Schofield (1999: 731).
32 Roskam's analysis of Epicurus' use of the prepositions ἐξ, πρός, and κατά, is decisive: (2007: 38).
33 Ἔνδοξοι καὶ περίβλεπτοί τινες ἐβουλήθησαν γενέσθαι, τὴν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀσφάλειαν οὕτω νομίζοντες περιποιήσεσθαι ὥστε, εἰ μὲν ἀσφαλὴς ὁ τῶν τοιούτων βίος, ἀπέλαβον τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀγαθόν• εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀσφαλής, οὐκ ἔχουσιν οὗ ἕνεκα ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατὰ τὸ τῆς φύσεως οἰκεῖον ὡρέχθησαν (Arrighetti 1973). Cf. Roskam (2007: 38–9).
34 In the final clause, ἐξ ἀρχῆς may simply mean 'from the beginning', 'originally' (the standard translation), or it could emphasise that security need not come from political power. As so often, we have too little context to adjudicate between these possibilities; the second would further strengthen the interpretation offered here.
35 Roskam (2007: 39) notes that this is consistent with Epicurus' doctrine of 'conditional qualifying'.
36 Οὐθὲν ὄφελος ἦν τὴν κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ἀσφάλειαν παρασκευάζεσθαι τῶν ἄνωθεν ὑπόπτων καθεστώτων καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ γῆς καὶ ἁπλῶς τῶν ἐν τῷ ἀπείρῳ (*RS* 13).
37 For Epicurean philosophy as therapy, see *Sent. Vat.* 54, 64.

38 The manuscript tradition for the reading of ἐξερειστικῇ is doubtful; other possibilities retain the sense of force. See Arrighetti loc. cit. Given the uncertainty of the reading, it would be unwise to press too much from this term.
39 For a fuller account of the formation of human societies, see Lucr. *DRN* 5.925–1457; the broad outlines of this account can be reconstructed from Epicurus' extant works.
40 Lucretius identifies contract-breaking (*DRN* 5.1024–7), factions (*DRN* 5.1136–40) and vengeful violence (*DRN* 5.1143–50) as threats to justice.
41 Note that Bailey's translation again takes the ἐκ + genitive clause as defensive and isolationist: 'As many as possess the power to procure complete immunity from their neighbours, these also live most pleasantly with one another, since they have the most certain pledge of security'. But 'complete immunity from' for τὸ θαρρεῖν is an interpretive gloss that leaves little confidence in the translation (and μάλιστα must qualify ἐκ τῶν ὁμορρούντων not τὴν δύναμιν ἔσχον, as Roskam points out). Hicks in the Loeb translation ('Those who were best able to provide themselves with the means of security against their neighbours') is similarly misleading. See also the discussion at Roskam (2007: 40).
42 For an illuminating discussion of this passage (*Adv. Col.* 1124d–1127e) see Roskam (2013). I have used the Einarson and De Lacy translation cited in this article.
43 The large topic of Epicurean friendship cannot be treated here. For detailed studies, see Mitsis (1987; 1988); Müller (1991: 110–29); O'Connor (1989).
44 atque ut odia, invidiae, despicationes adversantur voluptatibus, sic amicitiae non modo fautrices fidelissimae, sed etiam effectrices sunt voluptatum tam amicis quam sibi.
45 nam et laetamur amicorum laetitia aeque atque nostra et pariter dolemus angoribus.
46 Phld. *On the Good King according to Homer*, col. 29,3–14 Fish. For this discussion, and investigation of the Democritean background to similar arguments as well as their later Roman afterlife, see McConnell (2012: 104).
47 Epicurus' own general lack of detailed attention to emotions may be an accident of preservation; or, it may be that he did not develop theories about them. Later Epicureans, especially Philodemus, developed Epicurean emotional theories in much greater detail: see Tsouna (2007a). Philodemus' *On Anger* was probably part of a larger work *On the Passions*, including a treatise *On Envy* or *On Malicious Joy* (περὶ φθόνου or περὶ ἐπιχαιρεκακίας) (PHerc 1678: see Guerra, 1985) which has survived only in fragments. See Tsouna (2007b: 124–5) for discussion to which I am indebted. Despite the lack of theoretical development in the extant texts, Epicurus is aware of the danger of passions such as fear and envy, and sees rational understanding of causes as a way to temper the sometimes devastating upheaval caused by such passions. My thanks to Sonya Wurster for this point.
48 Long (2006: 12). Long discusses the relation of self-mastery to tranquillity in Epicurean thought in dialogue with Woodruff (1993: 19–22).

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10 Eros and the poetics of violence in Plato and Apollonius

Eva Anagnostou-Laoutides

This chapter examines the role of violence in Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica*, a unique epic known for its ambition to combine the genre's typical ratification of the use of violence with Hellenistic literary sensitivities. The continuous conflicts that marred the Hellenistic period offered the average person a plethora of opportunities to experience military aggression first hand and contributed to the audiences' obsession with realistic descriptions of violence which were, nevertheless, invested with Homeric concepts of heroism. Thus, bloodstained heroes were now perceived as beautiful in their extravagant attempts to challenge their human limits and claim eternal glory.[1] In the *Argonautica* Apollonius varies the masculine model of epic violence by presenting his readers with a blood dripping Medea, aptly projected in Circe's terrifying dream in which 'the rooms and the walls of her house seemed to her to trickle with blood' (*Arg.* 4.665–6);[2] in doing so, he transfers on his female protagonist[3] the tragic aesthetics that classical dramatists, particularly Euripides, had superimposed on her.

Thus, Medea's violent transformation has been typically discussed in scholarship in relation to her characterisation in Euripides' *Medea* (first produced in 431 BCE).[4] Inspired by the filicide of Euripides, who openly admits the subjugation of Medea's reason to her passion for Jason (ll. 1078–9), Apollonius casts Medea as a hapless recruit of Love[5] who will in time excel in cruelty. Love's violence is also stressed in ancient magical spells, typically designed to attack the reasoning of their victims and thus, to make them fall in love (against their will) with the spell-caster.[6] Thus, Medea's maddening passion which urges her to resort to unspeakable deeds of violence – most prominently her involvement in the murder and dismemberment of her brother, Apsyrtus (*Arg.* 4.452–76),[7] and her unnecessary killing of the giant Talos (on whom she fixed the evil eye, *Arg.* 4.638–88) – complements fittingly her frightening proficiency in magical rites.[8] The latter became exceptionally popular in the uncertainty of the Hellenistic period when the tide of rationalism gradually receded alongside confidence in traditional religion.

However, succumbing to passion was also a foremost topic of Hellenistic philosophy which advocated the suppression of emotional responses in favour of reason that must guide people in their search for virtue.[9] Although the Stoic hues of the *Argonautica* have been discussed in scholarship from time to time,[10] Apollonius' familiarity with the Platonic corpus, the result of his philological endeavours at the

Alexandrian Museum, is typically overlooked.[11] In light of this, my chapter will explore Medea's aggressive passion as Apollonius' response to the Platonic ethics of violence.[12] Apollonius' description of Eros in the third book of his epic includes numerous, albeit rarely acknowledged,[13] references to Plato's *Symposium* where the nature of Eros is famously debated. Apollonius seems to contrast the god's attack on Medea and her subsequent transformation into a vicious, menacing killer[14] with Orpheus' pacifying rites which have a calming effect on the Argonauts. By accepting the twofold nature of Eros as explicated in the *Symposium*, Apollonius uses Plato's words to reject his rigid focus on the higher form of Eros.

Moreover, Apollonius seems to employ his verses of violence in order to defend the value of epic poetry against Plato's rejection of Homer, 'the most poetic and first of the tragic poets',[15] and of all poets who, as he argues, promote irrational action through their verses.[16] Plato, who elsewhere encourages children to witness the violence of war (*Resp.* 467c–d), is concerned about the exposure of youth to artistic performances (*Resp.* 378d7–8) which distract them from philosophical discourse, the only secure path to virtue. Apollonius, however, advocates that violence, as related in poetry, has important educative value, being the 'other side' of harmony and conciliation. Given that the Stoics, who were especially popular in the Hellenistic period,[17] invested their notions of *erōs* with readily recognisable Platonic notions,[18] and yet, unlike Plato, they championed the didactic value of poetry, especially of Homer,[19] their bearing on Apollonius' contribution to the old battle between poetry and philosophy will be also considered.

Militant Eros: the god in Apollonius and Plato

Apollonius describes Eros' attack on Medea with two striking images: Eros wounds the Colchian princess with his arrows as a skilful archer (*Arg.* 3.278–84), but is also compared to a gadfly that attacks heifers.[20] The latter image which evokes readily the tale of Io, the Argive maiden who was transformed into a heifer and was relentlessly pursued by a gadfly until she yielded to Zeus' sexual aggression (Aesch. *PV* 561–785; cf. *Supp*. 350–3),[21] was also employed by Plato in his *Phaedrus*[22] to refer to the compulsive frenzy that overwhelms the lover. This dialogue, in which Plato admits that love is a kind of divine madness (*Phdr.* 265a9–11)[23] shared by poets, prophets, and mystics, returns to a number of themes treated in the *Symposium*, Plato's famous attempt to define the nature of love.[24]

The god's physical attributes are related by the tragic poet Agathon whose victory at the Lenaia of 416 BCE the dialogicians of the *Symposium* celebrate; according to Agathon, Eros is extremely young (*neōtatos*, *Symp.* 196a1; cf. 195c1 and 195c6–7), most delicate (*apalōtatos*, *Symp.* 196a1; cf. 195c7–e1), and fluid (*ugros*, *Symp.* 196a2; cf. 195a5). He prefers always to get hold with his feet and in every way the softest parts of the softest creatures (*en makakōtatois tōn malakōtatōn*, *Symp.* 195e7–8). Because of these qualities, he is able to coil around us humans (*periptussesthai*, *Symp.* 196a2–3) in every way as well as enter and exit souls unobserved (*dia pasēs psuchēs kai eisiōn . . . lanthanein kai exiōn*, *Symp.* 196a3–4). Agathon's Eros is predominantly beautiful, a quality that is reflected

both on his own skin and the blooming effect he has on those bodies or souls that he touches (196a7–b3):[25]

> The god's nourishment among flowers signifies his beauty of hue: for Love will not settle on body or soul or anything else that is flowerless or whose bloom has faded away; where, however, there is a blooming and sweet-smelling place, there he will settle and stay.

As mentioned, it seems to me that Apollonius modelled his description of the god on Agathon's speech; to start with, Agathon refers to the garden of Zeus where Eros was allegedly conceived (*Dios kēpon*, *Symp.* 203b8), the very garden in which Apollonius has him play an unfair game of knucklebones with Ganymedes (*Dios thalerē en alōē*, *Arg.* 3.114).[26] Furthermore, in the *Argonautica* Eros is described as a boy (*kouros*, *Arg.* 3.118) and reference is made to the sweet blush (*glukeron . . . ereuthos*, *Arg.* 3.121–2) of his complexion which bloomed on his cheeks.[27] Similarly to Agathon's Eros, he can curl beneath Medea's heart (*upo kradiē eilumenos*, *Arg.* 3.296) and arrive unobserved at the Colchian palace (*ixen aphantos*, Arg. 3.275; cf. *lathōn*, 3.280 and *lathrē*, 3.296).

Yet, while Agathon stresses the combatant character of Eros by observing that he is in 'unceasing war' with ugliness,[28] Apollonius' Eros is described as *margos* (furious, *Arg.* 3.120),[29] an *aphaton kakon* (unspeakable evil, *Arg.* 3.129), and certainly intemperate in the way he begs his mother to give him his new, fanciful toy without delay (*Arg.* 3.145–8).[30] In addition, he is *tetrēhōs* (full of turmoil, 3.276) and *oulos* (destructive, 3.297) and delivers his blow against Medea in the manner of a cold executioner with little care about her previous good character. His vicious, unprovoked attack has a profound effect on the young princess. Thus, Apollonius tells us that immediately, 'speechless amazement seized her heart',[31] 'wise thoughts fluttered from her breast in her distress',[32] and 'her tender cheeks turned now pale, now red, in the distraction of her mind'.[33] Apollonius' portrayal of Aphrodite's reckless child is especially remarkable in light of Agathon's conviction about the non-violent nature of Eros.

Agathon insists (*Symp.* 196b) that Love is neither the cause nor the victim of any injustice:[34]

> Love neither harms any god nor is harmed by any god, he does not harm any man nor is he harmed by any man. For if anything has an effect on him, it is never by violence, for violence does not touch Love. And the effects he has on others are not forced, for we all give every service willingly to Love, and agreements made on both sides willingly are deemed to be just by the laws, our city's sovereigns.

He further praises Love's power over all other pleasures and passions and his exceptional ability to moderate them (*Symp.* 196c4–8). Love is, in his view, the bravest of all gods (196c8–d4) and extremely wise because it was through love of beauty that Love imparted to gods and men all kinds of benefits (*ek tou erān*

tōn kalōn pant' Agatha gegonen kai theois kai anthrōpois, 197b2–3). By bringing peace among people (*eirēnēn*, 197c5), Love (197d–e5)[35]

> fills us with closeness and casts away all of our discord. He brings us together in gatherings like these: in feasts, dances, and ceremonies, he becomes our leader, moving us to mildness while removing us from wildness. He is giver of kindness, never of meanness . . . he looks after good men, he neglects the bad ones: in pain, in fear, in desire, or speech, Love is our most excellent skipper and crew leader, our defender and saviour, ornament of all men and gods, the fairest and best leader whom every man should follow and praise by joining in his song which enchants the thought of every god and man.

Socrates, of course, soon deals a sweeping blow to Agathon's idealistic view of Eros by emphasising its deficient nature: through his discussion with the priestess Diotima whose main argument relates to Eros' parentage as the offspring of Poros and Penia (*Symp.* 203b), Socrates is convinced that Eros lacks beauty and goodness.[36] Notably, while assessing Medea's violent turn, pondering on her involvement in her brother's murder, Apollonius addresses the god as a cruel daemon (4.445–9), reminding us of Socrates' assertion that Eros is a mediating spirit between gods and humans (rather than a god; *Symp.* 203b7–8):[37]

> Cruel Love, great misery, greatly hated by humans,
> from you came deadly strifes and groans and laments
> and countless other pains beside these are stirred up.
> May it be against my enemies' children, o daemon, that you rise up
> being such as when you threw hateful *atē* into the mind of Medea.

Under *atē's* attacl (cf. *Symp.* 195d1–e2), Medea is portrayed as resorting to raw force (*brimē*, 4.1674)[38] against the bronze giant Talos, although his death is not actually required. Having suffered violence, Medea now completes her transformation by totally absorbing the qualities of her assailant. Hence, Apollonius' Eros – unlike Agathon's idealistic Eros – infuses, inspires, and demands violence.

Eros as a violent cosmic force

By presenting Eros as playing with Zeus' golden ball (*Arg.* 3.132–41) – a clear allusion to Aratus' Stoic description of the celestial sphere in his *Phaenomena* (ll. 454–61)[39] – Apollonius casts his Eros as a cosmic force whose creative aspects are primarily manifested through destruction. In a way, in the *Argonautica* Eros and his destructive force replace Zeus, whom the Stoics imagined as a craftsman god creating the world out of the cosmic fire.[40] Thus, the descriptions of Medea's 'burning' following Eros' attack (i.e. *Arg.* 3.285–98) and of her blazing anger as she is rapidly transformed into a fearsome murderess at the start of book four (*Arg.* 4.15–7), could be understood as references not only to the physical effects of love, but also to his cosmic substance.[41] The cosmic aspects of Eros were especially advocated

by Empedocles who believed in the principles of *philia* (love) and *neikos* (strife) that controlled the four elements in eternal alternation,[42] but were also very prominent in the context of the Orphic religion;[43] hence, in Orphic theogonies Eros poses as the firstborn god that emerges out of the cosmic egg.[44] Apollonius alludes frequently in his work to the mystic aspects of the Orphic Eros by presenting Orpheus as initiating the Argonauts in secret rites necessary for the success of their mission.[45] Unsurprisingly, given Orpheus' ability to avert strife (see n. 43), the dynamic of his calming presence in the epic has been interpreted in opposition to Medea's combative character.[46] Hence, it seems that to ensure the success of his mission Jason enlists two important resources to tackle his characteristic *amēchania*,[47] both involving rituals: Orphic rites, on the one hand, aiming at *homonoia* (likeness of mind)[48] and Medea's magic, on the other hand, typically accompanied by violence and destruction. Given that Plato was already familiar with Orpheus' profile as a lover as much as his proficiency in mystic rites,[49] it seems to me that Apollonius is juxtaposing in his work two types of love: the positive influence of Orphic love to the disastrous, all-consuming passion of Medea. This view is not dissimilar to Eryximachus' speech in Plato's *Symposium* (185c–e); anticipating Diotima's views about the mediating role of Eros, Eryximachus refers to different types of sacrifice and divination through which people try to guess divine will. As Scott and Welton observe:[50]

> Even with sacrifice and divination, both proper and improper loves can arise, and here it would seem especially crucial to have the right kind of love. Eryximachus places the origin of impiety in following the wrong kind rather than the right kind of love According to Eryximachus, divination is the science of Love in the sphere, the sphere of justice and piety.

Strikingly, it is Eryximachus who also introduces Empedocles' views in the *Symposium*.[51] Plato had already given us a glimpse of Eros' cosmogonical profile as attested in Hesiod, Acusilaus, and Parmenides through Phaedrus who is the first to describe the god in the dialogue (*Symp.* 178b).[52] Given that in the *Republic* (2.364b) Plato had specifically attacked the *Orpheotelestai*, itinerant divinators who professed to perform Orphic rites, Apollonius seems here to defend Orpheus' (religious *cum* poetic) authority.

In his speech Eryximachus introduces the concept of the doctor who is able to diagnose the symptoms of Love on human bodies and crucially 'distinguish between the nobler and baser Loves' (186d3–7).[53] The same notion about the double nature of Love is maintained in the *Phaedrus* where we hear that love can be either harmful or the greatest good, provided, of course, it is bestowed by divine gift (*Phdr.* 244a). The concept of love as a disease is developed extensively in the same dialogue (i.e. *Phdr.* 231) and Plato's references to the confusion and irrational behaviour that Eros effects on the soul (*Phdr.* 237de–238a; 238b–c; 239c) bring to mind Medea's indecisiveness and mental instability in the *Argonautica* (3.228–89; 3.610–5 and 688; 3.1009, 1131, and 1150).[54] Later the Stoics furthered this concept by proposing that the philosopher is the doctor of the soul.[55] Although Plato employs the image of the charioteer and the two horses (*Phdr.* 249d–e) to

emphasise the need for individuals to adhere to reason and the right kind of love, while the Stoics view the human soul as unified with the body,[56] their understanding of irrational behaviour is fairly similar, with Plato referring to the ideal lovers as able to control their irrational propensities (*Phdr.* 238b; cf. 250e–251a; 254; 256) and Chrysippus describing passions as irrational and unnatural movements of the soul.[57] Notably, Plato refers to the violence that a man is inclined to take up even over small things if he falls for the wrong kind of uncontrollable love (*Phdr.* 243c). Furthermore, in the *Laws* (*Leg.* 880e–881c) he relates appropriate punishments for those who have been violent against their parents or other progenitors, a discussion which is reminiscent of Diogenes Laertius (*Lives* 7.107–8) and his reference to honouring parents, brothers, and native land as examples of acting according to right reason. Hence, Apollonius seems to be tapping into both schools of thought in his account of Medea's violent turn. Given, however, the central role of Eros in Plato's worldview and the metaphors he enlists from the sphere of ritual to express his understanding of the correct erotic *mania* (*Phdr.* 245b–c, 249c–d),[58] I am inclined to believe that Apollonius is intent here on responding to Plato.

The battle of poets and philosophers: Apollonius' response to Plato

In Mori's view, Apollonius was keen to respond to the philosophers' condemnation of Homeric heroes through his characterisation of Jason as a rational actor, slow to give in to his emotions.[59] Although in her view Jason poses as a disciple of Aristotle, who appreciated poetry as a form of rhetoric (*Poet.* 1450b4–13, 1456a33–6)[60] devoid of the ethical values that Plato attached to it, I am not convinced that the poem circumvents the debate on the value of poetry.[61] Jason, of course, has been also understood as a Stoic hero.[62] Yet, the Stoics eschewed violence (and especially revenge), arguing that virtue was 'happiness attainable only through a life directed by reason'.[63] Accordingly, the Stoic Chrysippus had discussed Medea as a prime example of the destructive influence of emotion.[64]

Plato, on the other hand, did acknowledge that the irrational was an ever-present part of the human soul and was engrossed in its management. Phaedrus, who quotes Homer regarding Eros' ability to inspire military fury (*menos empneusai*; *Symp.* 179b1–3; cf. *Il.* 10.482; 15.262), goes as far as suggesting that even women could be persuaded to die for their beloved (*Symp.* 179b5).[65] Furthermore, by presenting Socrates as a 'lover of poetry' who is 'charmed to contemplate things through Homer',[66] Plato recognises that Eros inspires both poets and philosophers with the same kind of madness (cf. *Phdr.* 244a). In the *Symposium* Agathon anticipates this view by claiming that Eros can inspire everyone to become a poet. He even argues that (*Symp.* 196d6–197b3):[67]

> If Apollo invented archery and medicine and divination, it was under the guidance of Desire and Love; so that he too should be regarded as a disciple of Love and so the Muses in music, Hephaestus in metalwork, Athene in weaving and Zeus in ruling gods and men.

Later on, in describing Eros as a daemon, Plato specifies that it is through him that 'all divination is conveyed and the arts of priests concerning sacrifices and rituals and incantations and prophecy and sorcery'.[68] Once more, the idea aired here is that Eros filters absolutely every aspect of creation although his mediation does not necessarily predict the positive or negative application of the arts he inspires. Furthermore, Socrates' definition of Eros urges us (once more) to view Orpheus[69] in comparable terms to Medea and her formidable skill in witchcraft. However, although Orpheus is presented as able to generate pacifying and evil-averting solutions for the Argonauts through his well-ordered rituals, Medea, who, like Jason, is often described as *amēchanos* under Eros' compulsion (see n.44), rushes headlong into devastation and murder by unleashing her talent in magic. By juxtaposing the differing evolution of Orpheus and Medea under Eros' spell,[70] Apollonius is not simply creating an analogy to the Empedoclean forces of *philia* and *neikos*, but he is, in fact, acknowledging violence as an equally valid resource, similar to Orpheus' music or his expertise in ritual, another *mēchanē* (device) to cope with life's dead ends. This approach echoes faithfully Socrates' revision of Eros in the *Symposium* where the god is presented as always contriving some ploy (203d6; cf. 178e3 and n.26). Furthermore, I would like to suggest that, even more than violence per se, Apollonius advocates that the depiction of violence is able to offer solutions to his readers. His verses are not unlike those of the ever popular Orphic gold leaves that people chose to be buried with;[71] his text functions as another means of performing salvific rites similar to those performed by the Argonauts under Orpheus' guidance.

Although the Orphics insisted on abstinence from violence and bloodshed,[72] the Orphic tradition was rife with violent stories including, of course, the episode relating Dionysus' dismemberment in the hands of the Titans – an episode that Apollonius may have alluded to in his description of Apsyrtus' murder.[73] On the other hand, despite rejecting Orpheus (both in his poetic and shamanistic guise)[74] as much as Homer[75] in favour of philosophy, Plato did not apparently reject the educational value of violence.[76] Hence, in debating the appropriate recognition for those soldiers who show courage in the battlefield, he cites verses from Homer (*Resp.* 468c–d). Besides, in the *Laws* (*Leg.* 829e6–8) Plato directly equates military activity and poetic engagement when he writes:[77]

> Regarding both military campaigns and freedom of poetic speech I argue that the same rules must apply equally to both men and women.

From this perspective, although Apollonius is familiar with Stoic (and other philosophical) views on the moral value of poetry,[78] his objective to defend his art would unavoidably urge him to engage with Platonic thought. Furthermore, Apollonius' dualistic depiction of Eros' effects, as projected onto Orpheus and Medea, corresponds to the two types of *erōs* (the lower and the higher) as we come across them in the Platonic corpus.

Plato's objection to poetry is well-known: despite admitting in the *Phaedrus* (265a9–11) that divine *mania* allows poets to describe realities beyond the

physical realm,[79] he nevertheless feels that the powerful influence of poetry on its audiences[80] renders it dangerous.[81] Poets rely on imitation (i.e. *Phdr.* 395a1–396c4); the more laden with emotion, the more appealing their imitation is and accordingly, the differentiation between poetry and reality becomes harder.[82] Poetic *erōs* fails to win Plato's approval as a spiritual guide because its focus on aesthetics frustrates its ethical function.[83] Poetry is seen as a lower form of rhetoric (much like the lower form of Eros that Plato castigates) but unlike the rhetoric involved in philosophical debates (*Phdr.* 276a5–7) which can produce knowledge in the audience (*Phdr.* 267e4–277a4; cf. 261a8), poetry uses myths, that is, highly persuasive yet deceptive reflections of truth.[84] Thus, although Plato presents Socrates in the guise of a poet who receives divine/Bacchic inspiration[85] and employs myths as a means of revealing the truth, he concludes that philosophy is crucial in deciphering the theology of poetry (*Resp.* 379a5–6).[86]

Apollonius signposts his interest in debating the value of poetry at the very start of his poem by explaining Orpheus' role amid the Argonauts on account of his poetic ability (*Arg.* 1.23–34).[87] Furthermore, in the final lines of his epic (ll. 1773–6) [88] Apollonius assumes the role of a hymnic narrator who (unlike Plato's Ion) readily recollects his poetic persona:[89]

> Be favourable, race of blessed heroes, and may these songs
> year after year be sweeter for men to sing.
> For now I have come to the glorious conclusion
> of your toils.

Apollonius here seems to adopt the hymnic style of Hesiod when referring to the 'race of the blessed gods' (*makarōn genos*) (cf. *Th.* 33), yet at the same time he alludes to the Orphic hymns and Orphic cosmogony as surviving in Aristophanes (*Av.* 699–707):[90]

> The race of the immortal gods did not exist, before Eros mixed everything together. After the elements were mixed with each other, Heaven and Ocean and also the Earth and immortal generation of all the blessed gods came to be.

Aristophanes here references numerous Orphic hymns which describe the gender of Phanes, the firstborn god of the Orphic universe, as both male and female;[91] in those hymns Eros is, in fact, called *difuēs* (of double nature). In other words, Apollonius may be responding here to Plato who, having compared the courage of soldiers with that of the guardians (*Resp.* 429a–430c),[92] rejects all poetry which fails to win the approval of the latter, even if the song is sweeter than the hymns of Orpheus and Thamyris (*Leg.* 829e1–2).[93] By embracing the twofold nature of Eros, consisting of male as much as female substance, controlled by well-ordered rites as much as black magic, resulting in violent chaos as much as peaceful harmony, Apollonius boldly states that surely the daemon can be praised by poets as much as philosophers. Like Eros, violence is to be found everywhere, as Plato also realised;[94] but while Plato tries to distinguish the image of violence from the

act of violence, Apollonius is ready to accept the creative aspects of both. After all, Plato himself exercised a certain amount of violence,[95] much like every reader, by imposing his interpretation on Homer and systematically employing his verses to further his own arguments, his own intellectual creation.

The preoccupation of poets and philosophers with the dynamics of violence during the Hellenistic period is, as mentioned at the start of the chapter, inevitably symptomatic of the increasing use of physical force across the conquests of Alexander the Great as a means of attaining one's goals both at the individual and the collective level. By forcibly imposing a different socio-political order, allegedly under divine auspices,[96] Alexander and later his successors forged new borders, new societies, and new identities in perfect attunement to Empedocles' cosmic forces against which humans are helpless. Apollonius' acceptance of the creative aspects of violence and its representations implies a thesis according to which violence is the ugly, yet necessary, phase of progress, a view that, despite its fatalistic premises, can enrich our understanding of the ways in which violence was conceptualised and perceived in the Hellenistic period.

Notes

1 Chaniotis (2005: esp.190 and 192–7); cf. Zanker (1987: 55–102) on realism in Alexandrian poetry.
2 αἵματί οἱ θάλαμοί τε καὶ ἕρκεα πάντα δόμοιο μύρεσθαι δόκεον; note that Circe employs here δόμος both in its meaning of house and family (οἶκος); Hunter (2015: 173–4); on Circe's role in the *Argonautica*, cf. Beye (1982: 151–3); Hunter (1993: 144–5); Clare (2002: 154–5).
3 As Beye (1982: 143) notes, from *Argonautica* Book 3 onwards, Medea shares Jason's role as the protagonist of this epic; cf. Hunter (1993: 29).
4 See, for example, Barkhuizen (1979: 33–48); Foley (1989); Hunter (1989: 18–19; 1993: 63–7; 2015: 4–5, 131); Clauss (1993: 9); Thalmann (2011: 125, 161, 196); Lauriola (2015: 380–81); Miles (2016: 53–4).
5 Love's violent attack on human reason was commonplace in ancient literature; see, for example, Sapph. fr. 112.4; Cyrino (1995: 21–36, 49–52, 81–4, 137–8); Pl. *Crat*. 420a–b; *Phdr.* 255B–C; Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 3.287–90, 1015–21; Campbell (1994: 262–4).
6 Faraone (1999: 68).
7 Bremmer (1997: 83–5, 99–102).
8 Medea's skill in magic is foreshadowed in Book 3, *Arg.* 3.27, 89, 477–80, 528–33, 858–68; cf. *Arg.* 4.15–82; 4.385–444.
9 Dillon (1997: 212); Clay (2000: 206–7).
10 Williams (1996); Mori (2005: 218–26) argued that although Alexandria was not appealing for philosophers in the third century BCE, the members of the Prolemaic Library and the Museum were aware of philosophical approaches to poetry. Eratosthenes who succeeded Apollonius as head of the Library had studied under Zeno, while Callimachus held the Stoic Aratus in high regard.
11 It is believed that in his *Canon* Callimachus, Apollonius' supposed literary archrival, produced a list of Plato's works, although there is no record of this. Diogenes Laertius (*Lives* 3.61–62) mentions that Aristophanes of Byzantium (265–190 or 257–180 BCE), who became the Head of the Alexandrian Library after Apollonius, distributed Plato's dialogues in trilogies. Barnes (2015: 220–22); for the chronological order in which famous men of letters served as Chief Librarians at the Alexandrian Library, see Gillies (1928: xi–xii).

12 Saunders (1968: 425–6) explains that in Plato's *Laws* violence is associated with anger (*θυμὸς*) as much as with deceit (*ἀπάτη*). Anger arises from lack of reason (*ἀλόγιστον*) and deceit is the result of deceptive pleasure (*ἡδονή*). Both, nevertheless, exercise violence on us by forcing us to stray from the path of virtue.
13 Hunter (1989: 109); Schaaf (2014: 143).
14 Pavlock (1990: 39–44); Calame (1999: 15).
15 ποιητικώτατον . . . καὶ πρῶτον τῶν τραγῳδοποιῶν, *Resp.* 607a3–4. Also, see Schaaf (2014: 43–6, with n. 232) citing Klooster (2011: 237).
16 *Resp.* 2.379b8–c1; cf. *Resp.* 2.360e ff. and 606e1–5; *Leg.* 10.886c and 12.941b; *Ion* 532c1–d2 and 532d6–e1.
17 Tarn (1959: 325–31) and Long (1974: 107).
18 Anagnostou-Laoutides (2014: 274–5); Nussbaum (1998: 273–82); Schofield (1991: 31–4, 45–6, 56); Gaca (2000: 211–14).
19 Kyriakou (1997: 271); Mori (2005: 218, 225) citing Phil. *On Music* 4 col. 28.22–35 for the Stoic belief that poetry can motivate people toward virtue; for Chrysippus' use of Euripides' *Medea*, see n.60 below; for his use of Homer, see Posidonius, fr. 165.102–116 E–K; for Posidonius' use of poetry, see fr. 164.50–2 E–K.
20 οἷόν τε νέαις ἐπὶ φορβάσιν οἶστρος τέλλεται *Arg.* 3.276–7.
21 Note that in Aesch. *PV*, Prometheus and Io are portrayed as victims of Zeus, with Prometheus being a victom of his hatred and Io a victim of his love. From this point of view, hatred and love seem interchangeable as in the Empedoclean theory discussed below (pp. 177–8). The parallels between the Danaids in Aeschylus' *Suppliants* and Io are discussed by Papadopoulou (2011: 45). Also, importantly, see Brill (2009) discussing ritual pollution as a typical reaction of women in Greek tragedy to the threat of male aggression. Again, from this perspective Medea's engagement with magic (an unsolicited form of ritual) is consistent with her feminine nature.
22 *Phdr.* 240d1, ἀνάγκης τε καὶ οἴστρου ἐλαύνεται; cf. Hom. *Il.* 22.297–301.
23 Schaaf (2014: 239).
24 The *Symposium* is commonly dated to the mid-380s, despite the alternative suggestion of 416 BCE, on the basis of a probable anachronism at 193a; see Dover (1965: 20) contra Mattingly (1958: 31–2). Also, see recently Usacheva (2010) arguing that the *Phaedrus* was composed in at least two stages and that the first one precedes the composition of the *Symposium.*
25 The Greek text reads, χρόας δὲ κάλλος ἡ κατ᾽ ἄνθη δίαιτα τοῦ θεοῦ σημαίνει· ἀνανθεῖ γὰρ καὶ ἀπηνθηκότι καὶ σώματι καὶ ψυχῇ καὶ ἄλλῳ ὁτῳοῦν οὐκ ἐνίζει Ἔρως, οὗ δ᾽ ἂν εὐανθής τε καὶ εὐώδης τόπος ᾖ, ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ ἵζει καὶ μένει. All translations of ancient texts are mine unless otherwise specified.
26 Again, see Hunter (1989: 109); also, Campbell (1994: 103).
27 The text reads, γλυκερὸν δέ οἱ ἀμφὶ παρειὰς χροιῇ θάλλεν ἔρευθος. Compare the description of Eros with that of victim, Medea, in *Arg.* 3.297–8 (cited in n. 33 below).
28 ἀσχημοσύνῃ γὰρ καὶ Ἔρωτι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀεὶ πόλεμος, *Symp.* 196a7–8.
29 Gillies (1928: 16–17, s.v. 120) disagrees with Mooney's translation of '*μάργος*' as greedy (1964: 230) and understands the adjective to refer to the god's ability to throw his victims into turmoil in agreement with the ancient *scholia*.
30 That toy, the ball that Zeus played with as a child, was understood to be a replica of the orb of the earth, alluding to the god's absolute power; by placing the ball in the hands of Eros, Apollonius invests him with a cosmic dimension. De Forest (1994: 143); Thalmann (2011: 4–5); also, see below, p. 177.
31 τὴν δ᾽ ἀμφασίη λάβε θυμόν, *Arg.* 3.284.
32 οἱ ἄηντο στηθέων ἐκ πυκιναὶ καμάτῳ φρένες, *Arg.* 3.288–9.
33 ἀπαλὰς δὲ μετετρωπᾶτο παρειὰς ἐς χλόον, ἄλλοτ᾽ ἔρευθος, ἀκηδείῃσι νόοιο, *Arg.* 3.297–8. For a description of Medea's falling in love with Jason, see Fowler (1989: 80–5); also, Hunter (1989: 27–8).

34 Ἔρως οὔτ᾽ ἀδικεῖ οὔτ᾽ ἀδικεῖται, οὔτε ὑπὸ θεοῦ οὔτε θεόν, οὔτε ὑπ᾽ ἀνθρώπου οὔτε ἄνθρωπον. οὔτε γὰρ αὐτὸς βίᾳ πάσχει, εἴ τι πάσχει—βία γὰρ Ἔρωτος οὐχ ἅπτεται· οὔτε ποιῶν ποιεῖ—πᾶς γὰρ ἑκὼν Ἔρωτι πᾶν ὑπηρετεῖ, ἃ δ᾽ ἂν ἑκὼν ἑκόντι ὁμολογήσῃ, φασὶν ‘οἱ πόλεως βασιλῆς νόμοι᾽ δίκαια εἶναι.

35 οὗτος δὲ ἡμᾶς ἀλλοτριότητος μὲν κενοῖ, οἰκειότητος δὲ πληροῖ, τὰς τοιάσδε συνόδους μετ᾽ ἀλλήλων πάσας τιθεὶς συνιέναι, ἐν ἑορταῖς, ἐν χοροῖς, ἐν θυσίαισι γιγνόμενος ἡγεμών, πραότητα μὲν πορίζων, ἀγριότητα δ᾽ ἐξορίζων, φιλόδωρος εὐμενείας, ἄδωρος δυσμενείας, . . . ἐπιμελὴς ἀγαθῶν, ἀμελὴς κακῶν, ἐν πόνῳ, ἐν φόβῳ, ἐν πόθῳ, ἐν λόγῳ κυβερνήτης, ἐπιβάτης, παραστάτης τε καὶ σωτὴρ ἄριστος, συμπάντων τε θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων κόσμος, ἡγεμὼν κάλλιστος καὶ ἄριστος, ᾧ χρὴ ἕπεσθαι πάντα ἄνδρα ἐφυμνοῦντα καλῶς, ᾠδῆς μετέχοντα ἣν ᾄδει θέλγων πάντων θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων νόημα.

36 Given his parentage, Socrates revises Eros’ parentage to describe him as (*Symp.* 203c7–d) ἀλλὰ σκληρὸς καὶ αὐχμηρὸς καὶ ἀνυπόδητος καὶ ἄοικος, χαμαιπετὴς ἀεὶ ὢν καὶ ἄστρωτος, ἐπὶ θύραις καὶ ἐν ὁδοῖς ὑπαίθριος κοιμώμενος, τὴν τῆς μητρὸς φύσιν ἔχων, ἀεὶ ἐνδείᾳ σύνοικος. κατὰ δὲ αὖ τὸν πατέρα ἐπίβουλός ἐστι τοῖς καλοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, ἀνδρεῖος ὢν καὶ ἴτης καὶ σύντονος, θηρευτὴς δεινός, ἀεί τινας πλέκων μηχανάς, καὶ φρονήσεως ἐπιθυμητὴς καὶ πόριμος, φιλοσοφῶν διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου, δεινὸς γόης καὶ φαρμακεὺς καὶ σοφιστής· [rather (he is) tough and shrivelled, and homeless; always lying on the ground without a bed, resting on doorsteps and in the streets under the sky. Because he has his mother’s nature, he always dwells with shortage. But similar to his father, he is scheming against anything that is beautiful and good; for he is brave, energetic and high-strung, tremendous hunter, always plotting some tricks, desirous and capable of judgement, pursuing wisdom throughout life, tremendous wizard, and sorcerer, and sophist].

37 σχέτλι᾽ Ἔρως, μέγα πῆμα, μέγα στύγος ἀνθρώποισιν,/ ἐκ σέθεν οὐλόμεναί τ᾽ ἔριδες στοναχαί τε γόοι τε,/ ἄλγεά τ᾽ ἄλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τοῖσιν ἀπείρονα τετρήχασιν./ δυσμενέων ἐπὶ παισὶ κορύσσεο, δαῖμον, ἀερθείς,/ οἷος Μηδείῃ στυγερὴν φρεσὶν ἔμβαλες ἄτην. Also, see Zanker (2004: 18).

38 See Graf and Johnston (2013: 196) on Hecate Brimo, the goddess whose priestess Medea is (*Arg.* 3.840 and 1194), and her association with the Orphic Persephone.

39 Pendergraft (1991: 97–100); Hunter (1989: 114).

40 Diog. Laert. 7.156; Aët., *Placita* 1.7.33 (= *SVF* 2.1027).

41 Cf. Eur. *Med.* 1156–62 where Jason’s new bride is literally consumed by fire thanks to Medea’s trappings.

42 Frs. 8.(17).6–8; 8.(17).16–20; 16.(26).5–7; 25.(22).6–9.

43 Hes. *Th.* 120–2. Ar. *Av.* 693ff.; Guthrie (1993: 92–102); Thornton (1997: 125). Also, see *Arg.* 1.498–511 for Orpheus’ ability to soothe the anger of the heroes and dissipate violence, although in his song, describing the creation of the world, he is here identified with a period of νεῖκος ὀλοόν (destructive strife, 1.498); cf. Kyriakou (1994: 309). Also, see Nelis (1992: 153–70) who suggested that Apollonius reworks here *Od.* 8.266–366 where Demodocus sings of the adulterous affair of Aphrodite and Ares, which probably allude in Orpheus’ song to the cosmogonical forces of love and strife respectively.

44 Calame (1999: 194–5) discusses the Orphic tradition as summarised in the *parabasis* of Aristophanes’ *Aves*. For the role of Protogonos, also called Eros, Metis, Phanes and Ericepaeus, see *Orph.* frr.96–7, 124–6, 139–41, 241; Bernabé (2004); cf. West (1983: 70); also, Athanassakis (2013: 135–6). The author of the Derveni papyrus is also familiar with the story; see Kouremenos *et al.* (2006: 25). Also, see Breitenberger (2007: 155) stressing the eastern influences of the Orphic tradition.

45 *Arg.* 1.413–21 (rites of the Cabiri); 1.1132–41 (rites of Rhea); 2.669–719 (prayer to Apollo); 4.1408–1418 (prayer to Hesperides nymphs); 4.1547–1555 (prophecy at Lake Tritonis); cf. Karanika (2010: 395–407) discussing Orpheus’ ritual interventions in the context of ancient rites associated with founding new colonies. For the Argonauts’

introduction to the rites of Rhea and Orpheus' role in it, also see Anagnostou-Laoutides and Konstan (2013) drawing attention to Apollonius' interest in Greek as much as Near Eastern rituals.

46 Clare (2002: 231–60) juxtaposes Orpheus' and Medea's ability to effect *thelxis*; the comparison of the two characters is also achieved by the references to Medea's role as priestess of Hecate (*Arg.* 3.252) which corresponds to Orpheus' close association with Apollo throughout the poem and to her ability to make wild beasts obey her (*Arg.* 4.444) which evokes Orpheus' ability to force the Pierian trees to follow him (*Arg.* 1.30–34). Mori (2012) discussed Medea's violence in connection with that of Heracles to conclude that Apollonius is questioning its effects regardless of the gender of its agent. Cf. Schaaf (2014: 316–27) contrasting Orpheus' and Medea's magic while highlighting Orpheus' role as a narrator figure.

47 Jason is typically called *amechanos* in Apollonius, see *Arg.* 1.460–1; 1.1286–9; 3.336; 3.423 and 432; cf. 2.681. See Hunter (1993: 24). Medea is also described as *amechanos* in *Arg.* 3.772 and 951.

48 See *Arg.* 2.717–718 where Jason builds a shrine to Homonoia under Orpheus' instructions (*Arg.* 2.685–697). See also Schaaf (2014: 54–62), discussing the affinity between poetic and magical skills as exemplified by Orpheus (cf. n. 46 above).

49 For Orpheus as a lover, see *Symp.* 179d–e; for his skill in initiation rites, see *Phd.* 69b–c; 82dff. and 402b; *Resp.* 2.364e–365a; on this, also see Ar. *Ran.* 1030–1036; [Eur.] *Rhes.*941–947; [Dem.] 25.11; Diod. Sic. 4.25.1 and 5.64.4.

50 Scott and Welton (2009: 6).

51 When defining the art of rhetoric Socrates suggests that we cannot 'reach a serious understanding of the nature of the soul without understanding the nature of the world as a whole' (see *Phdr.* 270c1–2, ψυχῆς οὖν φύσιν ἀξίως λόγου κατανοῆσαι οἴει δυνατὸν εἶναι ἄνευ τῆς τοῦ ὅλου φύσεως; cf. *Phdr.* 276e5–6; 277b5–c6).

52 Phaedrus claims that an army composed of lovers and their favourites (στρατόπεδον ἐραστῶν τε καὶ παιδικῶν, *Symp.* 178e4–5) would be able to conquer the world thanks to mutual rivalry for honour. The next speaker, Pausanias, argues that like everything else, sexual relations can be either noble or base (*Symp.* 181a4) depending on how they are performed. In *Symp.* 183d6–8 Pausanias differentiates between the vulgar lover, inspired by Pandemos Aphrodite, and the noble lover, inspired by Heavenly Aphrodite. Pausanias believes that Heavenly Aphrodite would only inspire men to fall in love with boys (181c–d) and that, in the context of pederasty, to be noble one must be a lover of virtue (184c–d; 185b).

53 Scott and Welton (2009: 63); cf. Konstan and Young-Bruehl (1982) argue that Eryximachus imports through his speech much of the medical doctrine of his time.

54 Hunter (1989: 130).

55 Nussbaum (1998: 316).

56 Long (1982: 36–40).

57 Gal. *PHP* iv 2.10–12 and 14–18; Long (1982: 49–53) on Stoic 'rational souls' and Cooper (2005: 180–85) on the εὔλογος ἔκκλισις (well-reasoned desire) of the Stoic sage.

58 Schaaf (2014: 47–50).

59 Mori (2005: 217–18, 220–21).

60 Mori (2005: 223), cf. her pp. 210–17 arguing that Apollonius modelled Jason's anger on the Aristotelian views of the passions.

61 On poetry as a form of rhetoric in Plato, see above pp. 180–81.

62 Williams (1996: 29).

63 Gillies (1928: xiv).

64 Dillon (1997: 211–15). Chrysippus *SVF* 2.906; 3.473 (cf. Epictetus *Discourses* 1.28.7); also, see Galen *De Hippocratis et Platonis dogmatibus* iii 3.16 and iv 6.19; Chrysippus' interpretation of Euripides' Medea has been discussed by Gill (1983) and Joyce (1995).

65 Scott and Welton (2009: 46–50) argue that Phaedrus tries to enhance his own role as the beloved through his account of Eros; cf. *Resp.* 5.457b–c where Plato admits that women could also become guardians in his ideal republic.

66 ἦ γάρ, ὦ φίλε, οὐ κηλῇ ὑπ᾽ αὐτῆς καὶ σύ, καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν δι᾽ Ὁμήρου θεωρῇς αὐτήν, *Resp.* 607c8–d1.

67 τοξικήν γε μὴν καὶ ἰατρικὴν καὶ μαντικὴν Ἀπόλλων ἀνηῦρεν ἐπιθυμίας καὶ ἔρωτος ἡγεμονεύσαντος, ὥστε καὶ οὗτος Ἔρωτος ἂν εἴη μαθητής, καὶ Μοῦσαι μουσικῆς καὶ Ἥφαιστος χαλκείας καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ ἱστουργίας καὶ Ζεὺς κυβερνᾶν θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων. Again, cf. Schaaf (2014: 44–50 and 239).

68 διὰ τούτου καὶ ἡ μαντικὴ πᾶσα χωρεῖ καὶ ἡ τῶν ἱερέων τέχνη τῶν τε περὶ τὰς θυσίας καὶ τελετὰς καὶ τὰς ἐπῳδὰς καὶ τὴν μαντείαν πᾶσαν καὶ γοητείαν, *Symp.* 202e8–203a2.

69 See Klooster (2011: 217–23) arguing that Apollonius perceives his poetic persona as last in a series of divinely insired agents (Zeus-Apollo-Muses-the poet) that are responsible for transferring otherwise inaccessible knowledge to the audience; cf. Schaaf (2014: esp. 40–41, 45). In light of Schaaf's arguments on Orpheus as a narrator in the Argonautica (see nn. 46 and 48 above), it could be argued that Apollonius varies Klooster's model by allowing Orpheus to take his place in the schema she proposed or by posing as an alter ego of Orpheus. Also, cf. the ancient scholiast (ad *Arg*. 1.23–25a) who wonders at Orpheus' participation in the expedition given his weak nature. Karanika (2010: 393–4) understands the passage as mapping out 'early reflections on poetic activity and Apollonius' intertextual matrix'.

70 Clare (2002: 246) argues that only Medea exercises violence to subordinate nature to her will, while Bracke (2009: 14) believes that Apollonius creates 'a sort of Frazerian dichotomy between magic and religion', by contrasting the constructive powers of Orpheus with Medea's destructive effect. However, in my view, Apollonius was likely less inclined to see things in black-and-white terms.

71 Riedweg (2011: 238–46) argued that an epic *hieros logos* was likely the archetype for the text of the Orphic tablets. Cf. Graf (2008: 19) who appreciates the itinerant beggar-priests discussed by Plato (*Resp*. 364b5–c5) as both magicians, able to perform binding spells, and priests, skilled at 'the Bacchic initiation rites that produced the Orphic gold leaves'; cf. Schaaf (2014: 24–5, with n. 137). From this point of view, Apollonius seems to be equating the alluring power of magic and poetry.

72 Pl. *Leg.* 6.782c; Ar. *Ran.* 1032.

73 Schaaf (2014: 268–84); cf. Byre (1996) and Bremmer (1997).

74 *Prot.* 316d shows Orpheus as a sophist; cf. *Resp.* 10.620a; *Ion* 533c and 536b; *Phil.* 66c, etc.

75 See *Resp.* 606e1–5; *Ion* 532c1–d2; 532d6–e1; also, Nightingale (1995: 60–92, esp. 65).

76 Hence, in the *Republic* (467d) he urges fathers to choose the safest battles for their boys to attend and to appoint guardians so as to ensure the safe and quick removal of the boys from the battlefield, if something unexpected were to happen. He also debates appropriate ways of dealing with cowards, the captured, and the victors, who receive a crown as a token of their valour (*Resp.* 468b), similar to poets winning a competition (cf. Agathon in *Symp.* 213b3 and e).

77 τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ λέγω στρατείας τε πέρι καὶ τῆς ἐν ποιήσεσι παρρησίας γυναιξί τε καὶ ἀνδράσιν ὁμοίως γίγνεσθαι δεῖν.

78 Mori (2005: 224–7) describes the intense philosophical debate on the value of poetry during the Hellenistic period.

79 Cf. *Symp.* 220a4–5; 176c3–5; 199–208; *Ion* 535b7–c3.

80 Cf. *Ion* 535b1–e6; *Resp.* 598b–599a.

81 *Resp.* 599c–600e; cf. *Ap*. 22a–b.

82 *Resp.* 597e3–4, 6–7 and 600e4–6. Thus, in *Resp.* 398a1–b4 Plato only allows for 'austere poets' in his ideal state.

83 *Symp.* 603a–606d; cf. Arist. *Poet.* 1469b13–14, the first thinker to note that 'correctness is not the same thing in ethics and poetry.'

84 Hence, Plato urges poets to emphasise the benefits people receive through their (divinely engineered) suffering (*Resp.* 380b2–6; 387e9–388c3; 391c; 392a13–b6; cf. 603e–608b2), while in the *Laches* Socrates says that pleasures, pains, appetites, and fears provide opportunities for people to display courage (*La*. 191e4–7).

85 *Resp.* 376d9–10, 501e4–5; *Phdr.* 534b4–6; cf. *Phdr.* 534b3–4 and 535e7–536b4.
86 For the idea that Plato uses myth to support rational discourse, see Corrigan and Glazov-Corrigan (2004: 221–23).
87 Karanika (2010: 395).
88 Ἵλατ᾽ ἀριστήων μακάρων γένος, αἵδε δ᾽ ἀοιδαὶ/ εἰς ἔτος ἐξ ἔτεος γλυκερώτεραι εἶεν ἀείδειν/ ἀνθρώποις. ἤδη γὰρ ἐπὶ κλυτὰ πείραθ᾽ ἱκάνω/ ὑμετέρων καμάτων . . . See Hunter (1993: 120 with n.77); Albis (1996: 36–9).
89 Hunter (1993: 150–51); Cuypers (2004: 59).
90 πρότερον δ᾽ οὐκ ἦν γένος ἀθανάτων, πρὶν Ἔρως ξυνέμειξεν ἅπαντα· ξυμμειγνυμένων δ᾽ ἑτέρων ἑτέροις γένετ᾽ Οὐρανὸς Ὠκεανός τε καὶ Γῆ πάντων τε θεῶν μακάρων γένος ἄφθιτον.
91 Procl. *In Ti.* 1.429.26 = Kern 81 and 1.450.22 = Kern 98; Orph. *Hymn to Selene* 8.4.
92 Barfield (2014: 24–5).
93 μηδ᾽ ἂν ἡδίων ᾖ τῶν Θαμύρου τε καὶ Ὀρφείων ὕμνων.
94 Lambert (2014: 98–9).
95 Cf. Hunter (2012: 60) discusses the multiple interpretations to which the texts of both Homer and Plato lend themselves.
96 See Chaniotis (2003: 432–3) on the benefaction of Hellenistic kings as a sign of their divinity. Obviously, the benefaction of the kings was directed towards their subjects, that is, those who had submitted to their supreme military power. On the influence that Alexander and his successors accepted from Near Eastern models of rule that stressed the king's monopoly of divine favour, see Anagnostou-Laoutides (2013; 2016).

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11 Violence in an erotic landscape

Catullus, Caesar, and the borders of empire and existence (*carm.* 11)[1]

Robert Kirstein

Introduction: violence and time

Over the past few years, violence has become a hot topic in cultural and literary studies, often in connection with studies of war and civil war, as well as of aesthetics and moral and philosophical discussions of law, justice, and human rights.[2] Classical and Ancient Studies are also able to benefit from that approach and the resulting interdisciplinary perspectives, as the chapters in this volume suggest. The items that are investigated range from actual, historically verifiable violence to representations of violence in artistic media – especially in the visual arts and literature.[3] Whenever literature and art in general treat historical events, different fields of knowledge – usually kept apart in approach and method – come together and overlap. When Lucan discusses a historical event poetically in his epic *Bellum civile* – the Roman civil war – he depicts scenes of violence that include fictive objects set in a fictional, self-contained (and autonomous?) literary world. This does not make it impossible, however, to read the same scenes of violence as (possible) reflections of actual violence in the context of historical testimonies for that era, nor does it compel such a reading, to be sure. This chapter examines how the representation of violence works *within* a literary text from a literary point of view. Thus, the focus is more on narrativity than on the historicity of violence, without, however, denying a historical interpretation of it. The main emphasis in what follows is on the aspect of time. Time as a thematic concept is not just one of the fundamental categories in literature, and one that plays a correspondingly central role in construction of literary theory; it is also one of the basic analytic categories in the historical and sociological study of violence (see also the chapter by Chaniotis above).

Catullus' *Carmen 11* will be taken as a test case to see how and to what extent results and models employed in sociological research on violence can be fruitful for literary analysis. The sociological models in question employ empirical methods in the study of 'real' examples of violent practices.[4] The sociologist Wolfgang Sofsky has investigated in various studies the way that the several actors involved in violent actions – perpetrator, victim, onlooker, or other third parties – experience time differently, and he has coined the term 'Gewaltzeit' ('time of violence') for this phenomenon:

> Time of violence is not shared time. What seems like a unified type of time to a third-person onlooker is in reality a radical antagonism. The social asymmetry of violence corresponds to the asymmetry of time. The time in which a violent act takes place – the time of action – is very different from the time in which that same act is experienced – the time of suffering.[5]

There is yet another aspect to the asymmetries of the subjective perception of violence characteristic of the several actors: irrespective of the various active or passive roles individual actors may play in a violent action, violent practices themselves may assume different forms of time:

> The time of violence can assume different forms. First, there is suddenness – the instant that breaks the continuity of a time line. Then, there is the surprise attack and the rapid continuity of a police raid. Again, there is the haste of a foxhunt, the rush of the escape, the simultaneous panic. And then there is the duration, the slowness of torture, the endlessness of cruelty. Although each form of violence has its own constitutive form of time that determines its basic structure, violence itself transpires in time, which transforms the circumstances and thereby also the modalities of time. The suddenness of the explosion is followed by the moment of horror, which in turn is followed by the ongoing, progressive storm of panic.[6]

Catullus and the Hellenistic age

Violence is an omnipresent motif in poetry reaching from archaic Greece to Roman late antiquity, from battle descriptions in the *Iliad* to Christian texts on martyrs in late antiquity such as Prudentius' *Liber Peristephanon*. However, its presence is not limited to certain genres: lyrical texts also deal on occasion with extensive physical as well as psychological violence and their (subjective) processing in (lyrical) forms of speech. Catullus, perhaps the most 'Callimachean' of all Roman poets, appears at the end of the era which in Greece is conventionally called the *Hellenistic Age*.[7] There are two reasons why Catullus seems especially relevant to this volume: first, he provides a Roman perspective which, at the same time, incorporates Hellenistic Greek contexts, thanks to Rome's general cultural and political proximity to Greece and also to the fact that Hellenistic Greek literature served as a fundamental reference for Roman writers. In Catullus' case, this led to a dense and highly intertextual web of texts.[8] Furthermore, Catullus' lifetime falls in a period of Roman history marked by extreme violence internally as well as externally. It was a time of rapid military expansion in the Mediterranean, in Northern Europe, and in the Middle East.[9] Thus, it comes as no surprise that these bloody wars, including civil wars, elicited notable (lyrical) responses in Catullus' poetry.[10] In addition, Catullus refers directly to the historical events and to the leading politicians and generals of the time; his most prominent target was none other than Caesar himself, but his acolyte Mamurra also receives sharp and direct criticism in a number of invective poems.[11] In light of this context, Catullus – the 'Roman Callimachus' and representative of what was practically

the last generation of the Roman Republic – and his poems can be interpreted as part of a cultural discourse on violence in the 'heated' transitional period between the late Hellenistic era and Rome in the time of Augustus.[12]

Catullus' *Carmen 11*

Catullus' *Carmen 11* concludes with what sounds like a final rejection (cf. v. 17 *valeat*) on the part of the poet's *persona* (v. 1) of a certain *puella* (v. 15), who, we can assume, is his lover Lesbia – if read syntagmatically in the context of *Corpus Catullianum*.[13] Aurelius and Furius are employed as the messengers of this news – two comrades (*comites*, v. 1) who are also known from other poems in the *corpus*. The actual message does not appear until late in the poem, towards the end of the fourth of six Sapphic stanzas (*nuntiate*, v. 15). Consequently, there is little room for details; just a few disturbing words have to suffice (*pauca . . . non bona dicta*, v. 15–16): she is enjoined to live with all of her adulterers – 300 in total (*trecentos*, v. 18) – none of whom she truly loves (*nullum amans vere*, v. 19). She is also ordered no longer to have regard for her former love for Catullus (*nec meum respectet, ut ante, amorem*, v. 21).[14] It was her fault (*culpa*, v. 22), after all, that this love was cut down like a flower (*cecidit velut – flos*, v. 22–23) at the meadow's edge, sliced by a plough (*tactus aratro est*, v. 24):

Furi et Aureli, comites Catulli,
sive in extremos penetrabit Indos,
litus ut longe resonante Eoa
tunditur unda,
sive in Hyrcanos Arabesve molles,
seu Sagas sagittiferosve Parthos,
sive quae septemgeminus colorat
aequora Nilus,
sive trans altas gradietur Alpes,
Caesaris visens monimenta magni,
Gallicum Rhenum horribilesque ulti-
mosque Britannos,
omnia haec, quaecumque feret voluntas
caelitum, temptare simul parati,
pauca nuntiate meae puellae
non bona dicta.
cum suis vivat valeatque moechis,
quos simul complexa tenet trecentos,
nullum amans vere, sed identidem omnium
ilia rumpens;
nec meum respectet, ut ante, amorem,
qui illius culpa cecidit velut prati
ultimi flos, praetereunte postquam
tactus aratro est.[15]

As translated by Goold:

> Furius and Aurelius, ready to accompany Catullus,
> whether he plans to penetrate to the distant Indians,
> where the shore is pounded by the far-resounding
> wave of the orient
> or to the Hyrcani and the luxurious Arabs
> or the Sacae and the quivered Parthians
> or the plains that are dyed by the flooding of
> the sevenfold Nile,
> or whether he plans to march over the mountainous Alps,
> viewing the places that tell of mighty Caesar,
> the Gallic Rhine, and also the horrible Britons
> at the world's end –
> ready as you are to face all these hazards with me,
> whatever the will of heaven above will bring:
> take back to my sweetheart a brief
> and not kind message.
> Let her live and be happy with her lovers,
> three-hundred of whom at once she holds in her embraces,
> loving none truly but again and again rupturing
> the loins of them all;
> and let her not count on my love, as in the past,
> for through her fault it has fallen like a flower
> at the meadow's edge, after being lopped
> by the passing plough.[16]

The poem provides a pleasing, almost epic breadth or panorama at first, and then suddenly comes to a brief, harsh closure; in doing so, and if read with some scrutiny, it provokes a whole battery of questions.[17] The several conceptual contrastive pairs provide an initial hint of the complexity of the text: first, former love (*ante*, 21) *versus* present and bitter disappointment; related to this is the constitutive contrast between the spheres of politics and war on the one hand and that of intimate, 'private' love on the other, which will later become especially salient in the Roman elegists Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid. Further contrastive pairs are the *one* (true) lover of old *versus* Lesbia's three hundred current adulterers;[18] Caesar's and also Pompey's and Crassus' vast horizon of military expansion, which – in a flight of fancy – imagines the three *comites* Catullus, Furius, and Aurelius travelling all the way to remote India, Egypt, and Britain (v. 2–12, cf. *extremos Indos*, v. 2, and *ultimos Britannos*, v. 11–12), *versus* the spatial limits of love, which in turn exhibits an elegant contrast in the image of the (little) flower; the flower's gentleness and vulnerability *versus* the violence that is not only expressed in the language of military expansion (cf. *penetrabit*, v. 2; *sagittiferos*, v. 6, *horribilesque ultimosque Britannos*, v. 11)[19] but also in Lesbia's ruthless sexual practices (*ilia rumpens*, v. 20) as well as in the motif of the plough

(*aratro*, v. 24). In this context, the plough does not stand for peaceful, culturally constructive, agricultural activities, as one might expect. On the contrary, it stands for destruction and death (*cecidit*, v. 22).[20]

The list of contrastive pairs continues: the physical violence of military campaigns *versus* Lesbia's psychological violence towards Catullus; the epic, expansive beginning of the poem *versus* the lyrical conclusion, marked linguistically by the contrast between *omnia haec* (v. 13) – which summarises the geographical excursion – and *pauca . . . dicta* (v. 15–16) – the curt rejection of Lesbia; the masculine *versus* the feminine world, pointedly expressed in the reversal of roles, by which Lesbia's brutal sexual practices seem close to the masculine (Caesarian) world of conquest and war. Catullus' emotional world, as suggested by the metaphor of ploughed-up flower, seems effeminate by comparison.[21] Further, there is the tension between the sphere of love and the world of war: 'It would be more accurate to say that Catullus' fictive journey serves to heighten the impression of him as profoundly conflicted in regard to the appeal Sapphic and Roman values have for him';[22] the third person point-of-view in which Catullus talks about himself at the beginning of the poem (*comites Catulli*, v. 1) *versus* the first person point-of-view he adopts in the second part of the poem (*meae puellae*, v. 15 and *meum amorem*, v. 21);[23] and finally, one may perceive in *Carmen 11*, as Commager observes, a poetic expression of the fundamental conflict between possibility and fact, which is revealed by a process of deconstruction.[24] Striking too is the *spatialisation* of the love relationship. Even the fact that Catullus does not communicate directly with Lesbia but indirectly via Furius and Aurelius points symbolically to an inner distance in their feelings.[25] The above mentioned contrast between war, which encompasses the world, and the narrow life of flowers, which at the same time embraces the dimensions of mobility and immobility, brings into focus the difference between centre and periphery *within* the depiction of the flower itself, located on the outskirts of a meadow (*velut prati / ultimi flos*, v. 22–3).[26] The organisation of space, which is initially oriented towards the horizontal, ultimately expands towards the vertical with the reference to human actions as helpless and at the mercy of superior, divine powers, a contrast enhanced by use of the rather elevated adjective *caeles* (cf. *voluntas caelitum*, v. 13–14).[27]

Contrasts create the basso continuo of *Carmen 11* and produce, through their accumulation, a dense, suspense-filled literary network.[28] A series of semantic ambiguities also contribute to the impression of fundamental antinomy.[29] The poem's addressees already pose an interpretive problem, which does not allow for a definite solution: Do the names Aurelius and Furius really signify the good comrades who are willing (*parati*, v. 14) to accompany Catullus to the ends of the world, to march with him through every peril? Doubt may at least be allowed, seeing as they receive a decidedly negative characterisation in other poems in the *Corpus Catullianum* (cf. *carm.* 16; 21, 23, 24, 26).[30] An alternative reading invites us to see them as bad comrades, proponents of the same 'system' to which Lesbia belongs, people who do deserve just as much contempt as Lesbia herself. Wilamowitz in particular has argued for this ironic mode of interpretation as follows:

> Bittere Erfahrung an Lesbias Unbeständigkeit zeigt sich in 8. 11 sagt ihr entschieden ab, gedichtet 55 oder 54. Boten seiner Absage sind Furius und Aurelius, intime Freunde, die mit ihm bis ans Ende der Welt gehen würden. So sagt er, und wer das für Ernst hält, habe sein Vergnügen. Der Leser des Gedichtbuchs lernt das Paar von anderer Seite kennen: sie gehören in die Sphäre, in die jetzt Lesbia gesunken ist.
>
> Bitter experience of Lesbia's fickleness reveals itself in [poem] 8. [Poem] 11, composed in 55 or 54, decisively rejects her. The messengers of his rejection are Furius and Aurelius, intimate friends who would go with him to the end of the world. So he says, and whoever takes it seriously is welcome to do so. The reader of the poem's book gets to know the pair from another side: they belong to the sphere into which Lesbia has now sunk.[31]

Noticeable is also the use of the verb *penetrare* (*in extremos penetrabit Indos*, v. 2), which in the immediate context signifies the military penetration of different countries; at the same time, however, it can also – metaphorically – suggest an emotional 'getting through to someone', as Fitzgerald puts it: 'The imperial scenario is introduced by Catullus because it provides the appropriate hyperbole for the problem of 'getting through' to Lesbia.'[32] The ambiguity of the motion verb *penetrare*, of course, is suspended, since it does not become clear until verse 15, when the message is stated, at which point the reader realises that the theme of *Carmen 11* is love. Corresponding to *penetrare* at the beginning is the verb *tangere* (*tactus aratro est*, v. 24) at the end of the poem. At first, *tangere* is understood as 'touch', but the context of rough sexuality (v. 17–20) elicits as well its common sexual meaning.[33] We may assume that this instance of ambiguity is a consciously, reader-oriented textual strategy. Quinn arrives at a similar assessment:

> Actually I believe that Catullus' relationship to Furius and Aurelius in Poem 11 is something about which it is Catullus' object both to arouse and to frustrate our curiosity: we would like to know, and he isn't going to tell us. It is a part of the picture where the focus is deliberately blurred; the poem acquires depth and strength if the reader who wants everything cut and dried is not allowed to have his own way.[34]

Research on Catullus has focused intensely on *Carmen 11* – one of his best known poems, which already elicited a response in Vergil's *Aeneid*, but at the same time is 'one of Catullus' most problematic poems'.[35] Two aspects stand out: (a) the poem's placement and function within the *Corpus Catullianum*: because of the harshness of the concluding rejection, it has most often been identified as marking the closure of a readily identifiable Lesbia-cycle and as a counterpart to the lover's hymn-like worship of Lesbia in *Carmen 51* which, like *11*, is written in Sapphic stanzas. (b) A second aspect concerns the inner structure and movement of *Carmen 11*: the aforementioned question of how the addressees Furius and Aurelius, who serve as the middlemen through

whom the *persona* of Catullus delivers his message to the real addressee, Lesbia, are to be evaluated. In addition, there is the problem of the introductory geographical 'excursus', which occupies more than half of the total number of verses; thematically and aesthetically, this excursus seems hyperbolic: virtually the entire world known to man at the time is mentally traversed. Finally, there is the image of the flower, violently destroyed by the plough, which establishes inter- and intratextual references to Sappho as well as to other poems in the *Corpus Catullianum* (Sappho *frgm.* 105b Voigt; Catullus, *carm.* 61.89 and 62.39–41). In Sappho, we read that shepherds trample the hyacinth in the mountains:

> οἷαν τὰν ὐάκινθον ἐν ὤρεσι
> ποίμενες ἄνδρες
> πόσσι καταστείβοισι, χάμαι δέ
> τὸ πόρφυρον ἄνθος . . .
>
> As a hyacinth in the mountains that men shepherding
> tread underfoot, and to the ground its flower, all purple
>
> (trans. Powell)

It seems clear that Catullus reworks this text in his Sapphic rejection poem to Lesbia, particularly since he refers to this same motif also in *Carmen 62*.[36] There too he speaks of a flower (*flos*) and plough (*aratrum*), just as in *11*, but in the opposite sense: the flower is precisely *not* destroyed by a plough:

> *Ut flos in saeptis secretus nascitur hortis,*
> *ignotus pecori,* nullo convolsus aratro,
> *quem mulcent aurae, firmat sol, educat imber.* (v. 39–41)[37]

The reference to Sappho's poetry in *Carmen 11* renders Catullus more feminine, while at the same time Lesbia is characterised as more masculine. Thus, both lovers – male and female – stand to one another in an ambiguous definition of gender that oscillates on both sides between male and female roles. This, at the same time, carries over to the double nature of their roles in respect to violent action. In accord with his feminisation, Catullus turns into the victim, just like the flower, whereas Lesbia, on the other hand, becomes the perpetrator, like Caesar and his armies. Gaisser had already pointed out Catullus' *dual role* of the victim:

> Both characters, then, are double-gendered. Catullus is a victim in both genders, like both the dying young warrior and the young bride with her innocence destroyed. Lesbia is destructive in both: cast both as a man who deflowers a bride and as a rapacious woman who unmans her lovers.[38]

'Time of Violence' in poem 11

We may affirm, then, that violence is a central motif in *Carmen 11*. Research on Catullus has focused mainly on the tension between the political sphere on the one hand, and the subjective, 'private' sphere of love on the other side. Depending on

one's perspective, different readings of the poem suggest themselves: either as a lyrical-erotic rebuff to an unfaithful lover who has become a sexual monster, or as a political invective, with a primary focus on the criticism of Roman imperialism. David Konstan has adopted the latter approach and read the poem in the context of Catullus' invectives against Mamurra:

> Sexuality and the imperial organisation of spatiality intersect to generate Catullus' subject position. They are his way of defining where and who he is; the spatial imaginary informs the amatory. This is why the geographical preamble is essential to the poem.[39]

Sex and politics create the defining tension; symbolically, the extent of Roman expansion corresponds to the poet's alienation from Lesbia, as do the violence of military aggression and Lesbia's monstrous sexual passion. Also, just as the captured countries are easy victims, so too is Catullus.[40]

If one interprets the introductory geographical text with the goal of finding *explicit* evidence for the violence motif, it will yield less lexical evidence for violence than one might expect: with the adjective *sagittiferus* (v. 6), a type of weapon is introduced that was perceived as typical of the enemy; to this we may add *horribilis* (v. 11) (not highly significant in and of itself), used to characterise the Britains, and the name *Caesar* itself (v. 10), which stands for conquest and can thus indirectly be associated with violence, and so too, perhaps, even the verb *penetrare*.[41] Overall, the first part of the poem is as much eroticised (*penetrare*, v. 2; *tunditur*, v. 4; *molles*, v. 5) as marked by elements of violence.[42] However, this supposition alters precisely when the poem shifts from the 'epic' first part to the second, lyrical part, and the focus switches from military expansion first to Lesbia and then, in an expanding 'zoom-in', to the flower at the meadow's edge. While *complexa tenet* (v. 18) does not necessarily indicate violence, the term *ilia rumpens* (v. 20) certainly does.[43] The violence reaches its climax, and the conclusion of the poem, with *cecidit* (v. 22) and the image of the ploughed-up flower (v. 22–3). More pointedly, we may say that the depiction of violence in the arena of love in the second part of the poem strengthens, through an ironic reversal of the real situation, the conception of the first part of the poem retrospectively as a depiction of violence. The use of *tactus* in the final verse again reveals the extent to which ambiguities shape the text: the verb *tangere* usually suggests a gentle touch which engenders a sharp contrast with the plough and thereby gains a (commonly recognised) euphemistic connotation. Indeed, *tangere* bore a sexual connotation since Plautus' comedies.[44] The basic tension between sex and politics is brought together in an almost epigrammatic way in the junction, *tactus aratro est.*

Carmen 11, however, not only addresses violence on an explicit level. As the thesis of this contribution affirms, violence as the central theme of the poem manifests itself not only lexically but also in its balance and syntactic structure. We have seen that Sofsky insists on the difference in the way time is experienced by the perpetrator, the victim, and the onlooker in his conception of the 'time of violence' (Gewaltzeit). In a violent action, time appears to the victims as extended or stretched out in comparison to the 'regular' time or the subjective perception of other parties

involved in the action. This subjective expansion of time opens up the possibility of interpreting the first part of *Carmen 11* as a textual (poetic) expression of the subjective perception of time from the perspective of the victim Catullus, though it is usually seen merely as a long proem, only loosely connected to the theme of rejection. A symbolic temporal dimension is thus added to the symbolic spatialisation of Catullus' alienation from his lover, one that signifies the suffering of the victim: 'the duration, the slowness of torture, the endlessness of cruelty'.[45] The imagined military campaigns in all the cardinal directions of the realm with the 'comrades' Furius and Aurelius have a temporal aspect as well as a spatial-geographical one: the duration on the narrative level (14 verses) corresponds to the amount of time suggested by the narrative; the latter remains undefined, but is definitely long judging by the distances covered. The elongation is converted syntactically into an extended period of time that does not end until the fourth stanza.

The three adverbs of time *simul* (v. 18), *identidem* (v. 19) and *ante* (v. 21) – all of which can be found in the second, violence-heavy part of the poem – also point to the fact that the dimension of time is no less important for the comprehension of *Carmen 11* than the aspect of space. This combination of violence and time expresses Catullus' subjective perception of both: just as he can take part in military expeditions to (almost) all parts of the earth only in fantasy, so too Lesbia's relations with the three hundred adulterers can only occur simultaneously (*simul*) and without interruption (*identidem*) in fantasy. The expansion of time from the perspective of the victim corresponds, in turn, to the speed with which the perpetrator Lesbia consummates her actions; she too, of course, is a product of the victim's imagination. A subjective perception of time can also be sensed in the use of the third adverb of time *ante*, because it is ultimately *his* love, *meum . . . amorem* (v. 21), to which Lesbia is enjoined not to look back; therefore, it is also *his* organisation of time into a past and present. The number of her lovers and its absurd association with simultaneity, subjectively constructed by Catullus himself, are reminiscent of the portrayals of quantitative excesses of violence and mass scenes of war, including the corresponding anonymisation of the victim, which often goes hand in hand with a sense of dehumanisation.[46] Michael Putnam has also referred to the idea of a 'symbolic structure of time'; he however, does not focus on the subjectivity of the time of violence, but on the symbolic contrast between speed in Caesar's and Lesbia's world and the motionless, almost timeless quiescence of the flower:

> Epic poetry surveys an heroic progress through extent of time. Lyric verse inclines to gaze intently and analytically on the vital, immediate moment. In terms of poem 11, the literal level of temporal action befits a Caesar and a Lesbia. The *symbolic time structure* the poet rears for himself leads away from any hypothetical, grandiloquent deeds to a stable emblem of fragility, almost out of time.[47]

Connected to this, again, is the reversal of gender roles: In the motif of the flower as symbol of his love, Catullus, the feminised man, assumes the traditional stability of location and immobility of the woman, while his female counterpart assumes the complete opposite, namely the masculine, heroic mobility of a Caesar.[48] According to the last stanza, the flower is seized by the plough which 'passes

by' (*praetereunte*, v. 23). The verb *praeterire* has the connotation of something incidental, casual. The plough does not attack like an army zeroing in on a target; it just happens to pass by exactly where the marginalised flower is located. In this way, the act of violence acquires a quality of absolute arbitrariness and contingency at this moment of the death of love, which already is marked by violence and cruelty.[49] If one draws a parallel to Caesar, who is conquering the ends of the known world, the political dimension of the poem looks highly critical.[50]

Conclusion

The present considerations about the 'time of violence' (Gewaltzeit) look to offer an interpretation that combines results from the sociological research on violence with styles of literary analysis. This approach invites the idea that the much-discussed structural asymmetry of Catullus' *Carmen 11* can also be read as a logical, literary processing of the victim's subjective perception of time; seen this way, the subjective perception of time is, from the victim's perspective, stretched out. The goal, thereby, is not to *save* the poem's unity, which has been questioned by scholars. This is hardly a worthwhile endeavour, inasmuch as unity as a concept is seen these days as a problematic aesthetic and literary category.[51] The abrupt change from the first part of the poem to the second can rather be interpreted as a literary instantiation of experienced violence, reinforced through the kind of suddenness that constitutes one typical form of the time in which violence takes place. Sofsky discusses in his empirical studies exactly this very 'suddenness – the instant that breaks through the continuity of a time line'.[52] Catullus' poem about Lesbia and Caesar, about the conquest of the world and the end of a love affair in a landscape fundamentally violated by war and sex, is primarily a reflection and a discussion of violence and its subjective perception. The centre of this poetic subjectivity is not the wielding of violence but the suffering of it. 'The truth of violence', states Sofsky, 'is not the action, but the suffering'.[53]As has been set out earlier, the focus of this chapter is more on the narrativity than on the historicity of violence. Nevertheless, it seems worthwhile to understand the poem also as part of a larger picture and as a contribution to a general discursivisation of violence in the time of Catullus and his contemporaries. The text itself points explicitly to the sphere of the real world by mentioning Caesar's military expeditions to the borders of the Roman empire. By establishing a two-way relationship between the violence of sexuality and geo-political violence, in which each can be cast in terms of the other, and by exploring the subjectivity of time in processes of violence, Catullus' poem contributes not only to the visibility of violence, but also offers a conceptual apparatus to experience, understand, and interpret it.

Notes

1 I would like to thank David Konstan and Hans-Peter Nill for a most stimulating discussion of this chapter.

2 See Benjamin (1965); Wertheimer (1986; 2006); Gay (1993); Bohrer (1998a; 1998b; 2000; 2004); Grimminger (2000); Seel (2000: 296–323); Neimann (2002); Dietrich and Müller-Koch (2006). On violence and cruelty see Schaub (2009: 16).

3 See Hölscher (2003); Nauroy (2004); Bertrand (2005); Chaniotis (2005); Rohmann (2006); Styka (2006); Muth (2008: 1–24); Zimmermann (2009; 2013). On violence and its representation in media see Keppler (1997); Muth (2008).
4 See the forthcoming dissertation: Hans-Peter Nill, 'Gewalt/Unmaking in Lucan's *Bellum civile*'.
5 Sofsky (1997: 119): 'Gewaltzeit ist keine gemeinsame Zeit. Was dem Beobachter, der aus dritter Perspektive das Geschehen untersucht, als einheitliche Zeitform er-scheint, ist in Wahrheit ein radikaler Antagonismus. Der sozialen Asymmetrie der Gewalt entspricht die Asymmetrie der Zeit. Die Zeit der Tat ist eine ganz andere als die Zeit des Leidens'. All English translations of Sofsky's publications are given by the author of this chapter. Also see Sofsky (1997: 104): 'Das Leiden hat seine eigene Zeit'. Also see Trotha (1997) with regard to sociological research on violence.
6 Sofsky (1997: 119): 'Die Zeit der Gewalt weist mehrere Formen auf. Da ist die Plötzlichkeit, der Augenblick, der die Kontinuität der Zeitlinie durchbricht. Da ist die Überraschung des Überfalls und die zügige Stetigkeit der Razzia. Ferner die Beschleunigung der Hetzjagd, die Eile der Flucht, die Simultaneität der Panik. Und da ist die Dauer, die Langsamkeit der Marter, die Endlosigkeit der Grausamkeit. Zwar hat jede Gewaltform eine konstitutive Zeitform, die ihre Grundstruktur bestimmt. Aber die Gewalt verläuft selbst in der Zeit, die Situationen wechseln und damit auch ihre Zeitmodi. Der Plötzlichkeit der Explosion folgt der Moment des Entsetzens, dann der anhaltende Bewegungssturm der Panik'. Also cf. 103: 'Die Zeit ist eine Waffe eigener Art. Es gibt die langsame Gewalt, die sich Zeit lässt, um die Qualen und Schmerzen der Menschen in die Länge zu ziehen. Schrittweise wird sie in Gang gesetzt, verstetigt, abgebrochen, erneut gesteigert und wieder unterbrochen, bis das finale Stadium erreicht ist. In Opposition dazu steht die Gewalt der Plötzlichkeit, des Überfalls, des Attentats, die das Opfer auf der Stelle tötet. Zwischen diesen Endpunkten rangieren die zahlreichen Varianten der Gewaltzeit, der Beschleunigung und Verlangsamung, der Verstetigung, Unterbrechung und Steigerung'.
7 Concerning questions on periodisation and distinction of era in antiquity, see Walter (2000); regarding the definition of era in general, see Bauer (2010). Hellenism: see Gehrke (2008: 1–4 and 133–6); Scholz (2015: 11–14). Augustan literature and its predecessors: see Schmidt (2003: 1–15, esp. 8–9). On war and violence in the Hellenistic literature and art see Fowler (1989); Chaniotis (2005: 189–213).
8 Roman poetry in the context of Hellenistic research: see Fantuzzi and Hunter (2004: 444–85). Catullus as a Hellenistic poet: see Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1924: 277–310); Braga (1950); Williams (1968: 250–51); Clausen (1970); Thomson (1998: 11–22); Harder (2004: 574); Catullus and Callimachus: see Knox (2007: 156).
9 On the structure of the geographical 'excursion' see Quinn (1972: 162–3).
10 The political backgrounds are discussed in Wiseman (1985); Burl (2004); Konstan (2007); also see the general characterisation of the era in von Albrecht (1997: 336): the nervously beating pulse of a period shaken by revolution. Violence in Catullus: Skinner (2007a: 583) (index s.v. *violence*); Stevens (2013: 72–81) on sexual violence, especially in *carm.* 16.
11 Here, the crucial aspect is not to what extent one can judge the communicative situation as fictional or real through the help of a text. Caesar as one of Catullus' readers: see Schmidt (1985: 16–17). Concerning Catullus' Mamurra-poems and their connection to *carm.* 11 see Konstan (2000).
12 Concerning the generation of Catullus: Gruen (1974: 2); Fantham (2004: 280–85).
13 *Carm.* 11 as a rejection poem and its position within the entire *Corpus Catullianum* see Commager (1965: 99): 'The eleventh poem can be seen as a summation of the various techniques used in the "renunciation" poems'. For an overview, see Beck (1996: 9–40); Skinner (2007b); Hild (2013: 31–45); also see Hutchinson (2008: 109–30) (mostly on the epigrams).

14 *Pauca verba*: see the introduction to Aeneas' rejection speech to Dido in the fourth book of the *Aeneid: ille Iovis monitis immota tenebat / lumina et obnixus curam sub corde premebat. / tandem pauca refert: ego te, quae plurima fando / enumerare vales, numquam, regina, negabo / promeritam, nec . . .* (v. 331–5). This passage, however, is not without irony since Vergil lets Aeneas speak longer than Dido in the end.
15 Text according to Thomson (1998: 106–7), with exception of v. 11: Thomson's preferred *horribile aequor* is a conjecture suggested by Moritz Haupt for transmitted *horribilesque*; see the discussion in Quinn (1972: 162) and Newman (1990: 165).
16 Catullus (ed. and trans. by G. P. Goold) (1983); translations of *carm.* 11 also by Quinn (1972: 161); Konstan (2000: 11–12); Putnam (2000: 13–14).
17 The geographical 'excursion' in the first three stanzas is so 'long' that it needs its own summary (*omnia haec*, v. 13). Concerning the epic style, see for example Greene (2007: 143): 'language of epic grandeur', (p. 144) (on Lesbia): 'epic monster'; Putnam (2000: 257): 'grandiloquent language [. . .] that pushes lyric to the borders of epic'.
18 The number three hundred triggers a (loose) association to the violence in the battle at Thermopylae and, thus, creates a 'Greek flavour' which can also be detected in the Sapphic flower-metaphor at the end of the poem.
19 The characterisation of the Arabs as 'soft' (*Arabes molles*, v. 5) prepares atmospherically the motif of the vulnerability of the flower at the end of the poem. The motif itself is topical, cf. e.g. Vergil, *Georgica* 1.57: *molles Sabaei*, and Manilius 4.654–655: *in mollis Arabas terramque ferentem / delicias*; Fordyce (1961: 126). In *carm.* 16 Furius and Aurelius are described as *molliculi* (v. 4).
20 The poem ends very effectively with the (destructive) plough: *tactus aratro est* (v. 24). The flower as metaphor: see Nünlist (1998: 206). For *rumpere* cf. *carm.* 80.7–8: *clamant Victoris rupta miselli / ilia, et emulso labra notata sero*; Propertius 2.16.14 *rumpat ut adsiduis membra libidinibus*; Adams (1982: 150–51).
21 Holzberg (2002: 93): 'der eigentliche *Mann*'. Greene (2007: 142); also see Fuhrer (2007).
22 Greene (2007: 142–6, quote 143).
23 Greene (1997: 148–9).
24 Commager (1965: 101): 'The stanza epitomizes the tension between possibility and fact that underlies the poem as a whole. Like 58, it conjures up a romantic ideal only to shatter it'. Similarly, Konstan (2000: 14): 'By locating himself at the edge of the field Catullus projects an alternative vision of love'; Putnam (2000: 257): 'this extraordinary poem offers a study of two diverse worlds'. Also see Fordyce (1961: 124): 'The poem opens with three stanzas of highly allusive romantic writing; in the fourth the tone changes to cold realism'. Concerning ancient literary texts and the 'Possible Worlds Theory': see Kirstein (2015).
25 Macleod (1983: 179): 'The journey as an escape from an unhappy love is also a familiar motif. So Catullus entrusts his message to Furius and Aurelius, not only because they are faithful friends, but also to stress the woman's estrangement from him and his rejection of her; he will no longer address her directly'; also see Hild (2013: 146).
26 Just like Caesar's armies reach Britain's most distant areas, the flower is located on the outskirts of a meadow, cf. v. 11–12 *ultimos* and v. 23 *ultimi*. Catullus' self-marginalisation: see Konstan (2000: 14).
27 See Fordyce (1961: 128) on *caelitum*: 'solemn archaic word'. The reference towards the gods as human's fate-deciding power includes also an epic tone.
28 Also see Ross (1969: 173): 'No epigram (even c. 76) can parallel the fluidity, the dramatic and extreme shifts of tone and mood'.
29 Ambiguity as part of poeticality and especially as a marker of poetry: see Bode (1988: *passim)*; Eco (1973); Rimmon (1977); Berndt and Kammer (2009); Bauer *et al*. (2010). Greene (1997: 148) on Catullus' *carm.* 11: 'the many ambiguities and complexities the poem presents to critics'.

30 On both see Fordyce (1961: 124–5); Richardson (1963); Quinn (1972: 164–5); Beck (1996: 104–131), including a detailed discussion of different research positions; Konstan (2000; 2007: 16–17, note 16); Gaisser (2009: 39–40). On the Aurelius-and-Furius-Cycle cf. Schmidt (1973: 219–21); Skinner (2007b: 42).
31 Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1924: 307). Similarly Fordyce (1961: 124): 'Catullus chooses Furius and Aurelius [. . .] because he despises them also'; Commager (1965: 100): 'tinged with irony'; Sweet (1987); Greene (1997: 148); Konstan (2007: 78) on the role of the woman in *carm.* 11: 'She is an overly masculine woman, just as Caesar and Mamurra (and Furius and Aurelius in c. 16) are represented as rapacious and yet feminized men: common to both extremes is sexual voracity'. A different view is given by MacLeod (1983: 179): 'faithful friends', and Beck (1996: 115).
32 Fitzgerald (1995: 181), with reference to *OLD*, *s.v.* 5. An immediate sexual definition of *penetrare* is uncertain, see Adams (1982: 151). Greene (1997: 150), however, assumes further erotic elements within the geographical 'excursion'; see also Putnam (2000: 257); Konstan (2000: 13), with reference to Janan (2010: 64–5); Holzberg (2002: 92).
33 References in Adams (1982: 185–6). The poem's last verse also irritates because *tangere* – even when neglecting the sexual connotation – does not match the medium of touching – the plough – since it does not just touch the flower, but it kills it through a touch (*cecidit*, v. 22).
34 Quinn (1972: 164).
35 See also Greene (1997: 148); cf. the overviews in Kinsey (1965: 537); Forsyth (1991: 457); Beck (1996: 104). For Vergil and Catullus see Putnam (2000: 256–61). When Catullus was rediscovered during the Renaissance, Cristoforo Landino created an imitation of *carm.* 11.
36 This is also supported by the fact that the shepherds have been established as typical figures in love poetry since the bucolic poetry of Theocritus.
37 Greene (2007: 142–6).
38 Gaisser (2009: 144). Poetry might be considered as especially open towards the perspective of the role of the victim, see Fitzgerald (1995: 169); Beard (2007: 210), on Ovid, *Am.* 1.2.
39 Konstan (2000: 14–15).
40 Also see Segal (1968: 308), who creates a correlation between the military campaign's hyperbolic extension and the intemperance of Lesbia's sexual desire: 'By uniting in c. 11 the journey-motif with the farewell to Lesbia, Catullus perhaps suggests that the exotic, extraordinary range of geography is a natural correlative to the extraordinary violence of Lesbia's lust'.
41 Caesar: see Zimmermann (2013: 221).
42 On *tundere* see Adams (1982: 148). The sound profile in the phrase *tun-di-tur un-da* is noticeable, see Thomson (1998: 237); Putnam (1982: 14 with note 1); see Tibullus 2.4.10 *uasti tunderet unda maris*.
43 On the technique of 'zooming-in' in Catullus see de Jong (2014: 64–5).
44 Adams (1982: 185–6).
45 Sofsky (1997: 119). For the relationship between *space* and *time* as a literary ordering principle cf. especially Bakhtin (2008).
46 Anonymisation is also mentioned in Greene (2007: 145): 'The plow's indifferent mowing down of nameless living things parallels Caesar's violent subjugation of foreign lands'.
47 Putnam (1982: 23–4) (my emphasis). This reminds one of Sartre's existentialistic philosophy, which speaks of negation of time by violence. See Staudigl (2015: 100–101); Sofsky (1997: 102): 'Wo Gewalt als Ereignis hereinbricht, zerstört sie die Zeit'.
48 On gender and mobility see Keith (1999); Lovatt (2013: 347); on the 'gender of war' Chaniotis (2005: 102–14).
49 Popitz offers a sociological discussion on lack of motif (1992: 48–9). Also cf. Sofsky (1996: 45–52), here p. 52: 'Grausamkeit zielt auf nichts. Sie hat keinen anderen Sinn als sie selbst', and p. 53: 'In dem Maße, wie sich Gewalt von allen Rücksichten befreit und ganz sie selbst wird, verwandelt sie sich in Grausamkeit'.

50 Konstan (2000: 3) talks of 'destabilization'.
51 See Konstan (2000: 12); Lamarque (2009: 20); Mikkonen (2014: 53–4).
52 On an 'aesthetic of suddenness' in which shock and violence dominate see Bohrer (1981; 2004).
53 Sofsky (1996: 68).

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12 Epilogue: violence and its emotional representation in the Hellenistic world

Michael Champion and Lara O'Sullivan

> Most flagellations are a buzz of squalor.
> Scored Gesualdo writhes his joy of them.
>
> 50
> And still there's more to it, the yielded phrase
> Glad in its tessitura though the screed
> Itself is lamentation, perhaps dread.
> The words feel nothing and will not refuse
>
> Hot stuff out of the shambles and the trench.
> Hill, *Al tempo de' tremuoti*, 49–50.

The chapters in this volume return us to the Protean shape-shifting of violence with which we began. Hellenistic violence, while ubiquitous, was experienced and represented in myriad different ways in different cities, events, cultural settings, and literary and artistic forms. Christopher Dickenson identified violence in public policing, executions, bearing arms in public, ritualised humiliation, and civic uprisings and 'just murder' (*dikaios phonos*), and pointed to ways in which public space could shape, reinforce, intensify, and moderate displays of violence. Andrzej Chankowski drew attention to ideological violence embedded in cultural practices and institutions involved in training young men. Kai Brodersen argued that violence could be monetised, and put the harsh materiality of violence on view – in scarcity and famine, in the slave trade, in mercenary warfare, hostage taking, expenses and booty of war, and crippling fines. Lara O'Sullivan investigated connections between divine and kingly violence, arguing that religious narratives, themselves bound up in violence, could be presented by poleis to kings to moderate and direct violence against cities. She also identified manifold violence associated with conflict between kings and poleis, including violent curses, starvation, cruel punishments, conquests, and terror of invasion and siege. Angelos Chaniotis shone a light on nocturnal violence, including looting, brigandage, conspiracy, ethnic confrontations, piracy, and alcohol-fuelled violence, as well as violent attempts to police these activities. Susan Lape examined discourses of violence on the stage, arguing that violence between genders and generations, within families, and between ethnic groups was reproduced in Terence's *Self-Tormentor*. Across

the play, as across New Comedy in general, we see diverse and brutal violence – torture of slaves, sexual assault, domestic violence, the dangers of the mercenary life, physical beatings, bullying, verbal abuse, impoverishment, exclusion based on ethnicity, class or gender, and emotional humiliation – although Lape argued that the genre also models scripts of compassion that can temper violence. Craig Hardiman's analysis of visual depictions of violence in sculpture and architecture charted the violence of the hunt, military conquest, forms of sexual violence, all now in a heightened emotional register, and resonating with Hellenistic drama and theatricality: the violence of frenzy or madness is not far away. The representations of violence Hardiman discusses also illumine gendered violence, and violence at the intersections between different ethnic groups. Michael Champion pointed to physical, mental and systemic violence tempered by philosophical therapy, and the ways violence can lead to lack of control over anxieties, emotions, and rational judgements, as well as to its potential to demolish physical and material security and tranquillity. Violence could threaten social order, but some measure of violent force could be required to guarantee security. Eva Anagnostou-Laoutides and Robert Kirstein in different ways investigated the poetics of violence. Anagnostou-Laoutides identified the emotional, passionate, destructive and creative violence of *eros*, while Kirstein set sexual violence within the experience of broken temporality and imperial military conquest. We have seen these several violences represented especially in histories, philosophies, poems and dramas, and performed on stage, in civic and religious rituals, through inscriptions and public decrees, and in emotional art and architecture. They have emerged from processes of competition and imitation (for example in the gymnasium, and in the killing of tyrants). And they have functioned to legitimate and overturn established social order and constructions of personal and civic identity (in Epicurean ethics, political violence, economic systems, and through emotional regimes).

One contribution of this volume, then, is to insist on the diversity and particularity of the experience and representation of violence in the period, and the importance of treating the widest range of source material in constructing histories of violence. Warfare may be the paradigmatic form of violence, inflecting discourses of competition, and civic and masculine identity. But our focus has been on other less dramatic, if nonetheless theatrical and significant, forms of violence. This is not a move from the objective and physical to the subjective and emotional, although this Epilogue does foreground emotional representations of violence. We have highlighted regimes and technologies of the ordering of society, where bodies are broken in policing, in the enforcement of class, gender and ethnic boundaries, and where the embodied experience of space and time, and the intersections of divine and human realms, are fundamentally confused through sexual, military, physical, political, religious, and emotional violence. Our focus on discourses, representations, and performances of violence in the period does allow the subjective perception of violence to rise more closely to the surface than in some more institutional, political, or military histories. But several contributors (e.g. Dickenson, Chaniotis, Chankowski, and O'Sullivan) have pointed to ways in which emotions generated by or associated with violence helped to motivate

and sustain institutions and communities – including for example those relating to policing, civic ideology and education, and religious ritual. There is a two-way relationship between laws and institutions and individual and communal emotional experience: laws and institutions are partly strengthened and motivated by emotional expectations and practices while they simultaneously provide norms to strengthen emotional experiences at the personal and communal levels. The narration and performance of violence, together with its intrication in processes of affective regulation and expression, mimesis, and self-construction, means that the perception of violence is both deeply subjective and interpersonal and communal, as an embodied, timely, cultural construction.

Our study of systems of representation, in art, the organisation of public and private space, civic and religious temporality, economic systems, narratives, poetics, philosophies, and emotional norms, has identified deeply embedded symbolic and systemic violence alongside the more easily enumerated violent events, actions, and situations.[1] It is thus broadly congruent with Slavoj Žižek's differentiation between three categories of violence: violence clearly attributed to individual agents; violence embedded in symbol systems; and violence masked by, and sustaining, economic and political systems.[2] In the first category, we might think of hand-to-hand combat, or the domestic violence analysed by Lape, or the policing and political murders discussed by Dickenson. In the second, we might think of the discursive construction of masculine identity revealed by Chankowski or the violent visual depictions analysed by Hardiman and their associated 'scopic regimes'. In the third, we might think of Brodersen's account of the economic 'tricks' instituted by cities to strengthen the political order that devastated individuals and communities, or the almost completely unexamined violence done to slaves or mercenaries which sustained Hellenistic political and economic systems of power.

Our analysis, however, also suggests that the three categories cannot be easily separated: individuals act on the basis of discursive systems (which also constitute political and economic orders), while individual acts can shape discursive systems (and overturn, challenge or entrench political and economic systems). For example, the discursive construction of religious worlds analysed by O'Sullivan could moderate the actions of kings and entrench polis identity and power, or be adapted by kings to undercut civic claims, and augment the economic and political authority of individual rulers and the successor kingdoms. Similarly, Champion argued that Epicurean philosophers constructed a discourse through which citizens could create radically different identities for themselves and challenge established social (economic and political) orders. But they could equally participate in and legitimate a violent, conservative discourse which reinforced economic and political inequalities. As a final example of the mutual interaction of agent-oriented, symbolic, and systemic accounts of violence, we might recall Lape's chapter, where myriad acts of violence between characters on stage embodied and performed cultural scripts of gendered, ethnic and class inequality, and thus legitimated by reproducing on stage the violence that sustained such inequalities in everyday polis life. Yet the play also saw characters performing symbolically constructed narratives and performances of

compassion or pity which could work against the entrenched symbolic, interpersonal and systemic violence of the imagined social world.

In this analysis, we see conventional violence at the discursive and systemic levels, again resonating with elements of Žižek's analysis. Žižek points out that agent-oriented analyses of violence are identifiable, and may be distinguished from discursive and systemic violence, because they manifest specifically as breaches of convention. Symbolic and systemic violence, on the other hand, make violence conventional: the normative violence of discourses, institutions, and political and economic systems reproduces violent patterns of social domination, and legitimises large-scale violence that sustains the social order. This is a useful caveat in the context of our initial framing of violence as embedded in, and constructing systems of, meaning-making in narratives and performances (Chapter One). Within the models of narrative and performance, violence most easily appears as a breach of convention. And yet the analysis of several authors in this collection strengthens the claim that violence also appears in highly conventional ways, as some violence is legitimised and marked as natural.[3] To take just some examples from the chapters in this volume, such conventional violence can be seen in religious rituals and mythic narratives which valorise violence, the structures and institutions of polis finances and commerce, the ordering of normative family life or gender roles, the formation of martial and expansionary civic and masculine ideologies, and the regulation of emotional experience on the stage or by public and private monuments.

This final element seems crucial: our case-studies repeatedly view emotional regulation as central to the representation, production, and perception of Hellenistic violence.[4] One conclusion is that cultural violence – its narration, performance, conceptualisation and perception – cannot be separated from analysis of emotional scripts, regimes and strategies to regulate and heighten affectivity.[5] Violent contexts elicit strongly emotional treatment across all genres. Lape's example of plays performing the desired pity-scripts between fathers and sons demonstrated one way in which emotions could moderate violence, while also securing a social relationship central to, but always threatening to spill over into violence within, Hellenistic patriarchal social orders. Hardiman calls attention to the highly wrought images of violent suffering that characterise Hellenistic art (his example of the Altar of Zeus at Pergamum is particularly apt in this regard), and these images find their counterparts in the vignettes of weeping women that characterise the historical narratives of the period. Dickenson traced how humiliation and the emotion of shame could violently reinforce other social hierarchies and thereby enable Hellenistic society to function effectively. Champion explored the emotional regulation of the Epicurean sage in the context of marked social inequality, a regulation that could, but need not, undermine violent competition for social status at the heart of Hellenistic social and political life. Chankowski identified the military emotions of irascibility, anger and pugnaciousness (and associated virtues of courage) as crucial to the formation of civic identity and the political orders of the Hellenistic period. Anagnostou-Laoutides explored the destructive and creative potential of the passion of love. Chaniotis argued that the violence of the night elicited heightened emotional reactions of fear and

anxiety from victims, intensified blame and revulsion towards the attackers who are marked as particularly cowardly and deceitful, and strengthened feelings of pride in the heroism of successful efforts of resistance. The heightened affectivity associated with nocturnal violence arguably helped to generate and was partly sustained by new forms of public oratory, decrees, and institutional forms, including civic liturgies and rules of voluntary associations. The experience of violence is the driver, moreover, for what Chaniotis has elsewhere identified as the earliest intrusion of emotional language into the discourse of civic enactments.[6] It is from Athens in 307/6 BCE, a city just liberated from an Diadochan occupation force and a city now looking back with the benefit of hindsight on the experience of Alexander's destruction of Thebes, that fear is first given expression in a public decree. The Athenians vote posthumous honours upon the Athenian statesman, Lycurgus, for his actions on behalf of the polis, at a time

> when great fears and dangers surrounded the Greeks, after Alexander had defeated Thebes and subdued all of Asia and other parts of the inhabited world. . . (*IG* ii^2 457 b 1.9–12)

The common experience of such fear and danger could unite previously disparate cities. The very ubiquity of Hellenistic violence provided an avenue for the appeal to the shared emotions of common experience that transcended old polis borders and encouraged empathetic concern and a cultural *homonoia* – a shared outlook – across disparate communities. Emotions can mark the internal, barely expressible but overwhelming effects of violence, yet affect associated with violence is also potentially constructive. The vivid and emotionally charged descriptions of violence and its attendant sufferings in diplomatic speeches and in public resolutions invoke an emotional community, and the shared experience of violence across civic boundaries provides a language for common discourse and invites empathetic connections between diverse audiences.[7]

To speak of emotional community and heightened affectivity across genres is to draw attention to notions of display, audience, and representation, as we suggested in discussions of performance and theatricality in Chapter One. The importance attached to pageantry in the articulation of royal power, the interest of display in the performance of religious functions, the emphasis on visibility in epigraphical and literary texts, and the proliferation of divine epiphanies claimed in this period: all bear witness to this particularly Hellenistic interest in theatricality and overt display.[8] Violence has a stake in this culture of display. Several contributions touched on ways in which violence itself was displayed or staged, while literary texts of the period appeal to the theatre as a metaphor in describing the experience of violence (notably warfare). Such displays of violence cast observers into the role of audience members, and invited their emotional investment;[9] the emotionality of Hellenistic literary narratives of violence and of descriptions of violence in decrees, which sought to bring the impact of violence before the mind's eye of the reader or assembly participant, and to elicit an emotional engagement, function in much the same way. It is this nexus of spectating

and emotional response that gives an edge to Lucretius' claim that 'it is even a pleasure to gaze on great conflicts of war . . . if one has no share in the danger' (*DRN* 2.5–6), particularly if we understand this pleasure to derive from an emotional distance from the spectacle of battle. Lucretius and his fellow Epicureans set themselves apart from the expectation of an emotional investment in the theatre of war played out before their gaze.

As this example shows, however, the nature of the invited response itself varies. Empathetic concern for the victims is clearly the anticipated emotional register in many instances. It was precisely to 'arouse the pity of his readers and to make them sympathetic', says Polybius (2.56.7), that Phylarchus dwelt upon the spectacle of the devastation of Mantinea in his history. The diplomatic overtures of Cytenium to Xanthus in the wake of the former's devastation are similarly illustrative of such elicitation of 'fellow feeling'. The Xanthians respond to the Cytenians' recitation of their sufferings by acknowledging the 'fact that the walls [of Cytenium] have been destroyed',[10] and by resolving 'to reply to [the People of Cytenium] that all the Xanthians share in grief at the misfortunes that have befallen the city' (*SEG* 38.1476.42–44). This empathetic concern, a concern reinforced by affirmations of the shared ancestry that linked Cytenium and Xanthus, is performed with self-conscious public display and desire for memorialisation: the Xanthians resolve that 'the magistrates shall inscribe . . . the letter sent by the Dorians to our city and this decree, on a stone stele' in order 'that there may be a memorial for future generations of the kinship between us and the Dorians, and of our concern for them on account of this kinship' (ll. 65–72). The public display of empathetic concern, therefore, forms the substance of the Xanthian response. Shared grief and its public expression are deemed by the Xanthians adequate tokens in lieu of the financial assistance that Cytenium had actually sought. At other times, the theatricality elicits awe and fear inspired by the power of the perpetrator. Demetrius Poliorcetes' staged displays of military might during the siege of Rhodes in 305/4 BCE and later at Athens in 296/95 BCE are met with fear by their respective audiences, be they the Rhodians 'looking on from their homes, since the city is shaped like a theatre', or the Athenians gathered at Poliorcetes' behest in the theatre of Dionysus.[11] We return to the Janus-like political faces of violence outlined in Chapter One; the constructive and destructive potential of violence, its capacity to entrench power or undercut it, to control or liberate.

Hence representations of violence which cast the spectator into the role of audience member offer competing emotional scripts. This might be particularly said of Hellenistic sculpture, with its tendency (as detailed by Hardiman in this collection) to invite the spectator to participate in the heat of violent events, whether battle scenes (such as gigantomachies) or individual sexual encounters. The sculptural treatments of this violent material problematise the viewer response by challenging the focus of emotional engagement. On the one hand, in a society in which the power to enact violence still functioned as a marker of social status, identification with the perpetrator is invited. This is all the more keenly felt in those scenes in which embedded cultural norms insinuate an identification of viewer and victor: one might think here of Attalus' deployment of the gigantomachy on the Pergamene

altar in the context of his own victories over the Gauls, a use itself evocative of the deployment of the gigantomachy motif in monuments commemorating the Persian Wars, or of the masculine potency embedded in images of Hermaphrodite assaults, where some forms of sexual violence are legitimised. On the other hand, the newly Hellenistic concentration on the suffering of the victims, their bodies writhing in agony or struggling in self-defence (think of the famous Laocoon group now in the Vatican Museums),[12] urges a shift in the locus of emotional engagement. So too, perhaps, does the very nature of the sculptural medium itself. Unlike literary texts, in which violent actions are part of a narrative sequence driven forward by the authorial voice, sculpted images are frozen within a specific moment of time. The viewer is invited to participate in 'the slowness of torture, the endlessness of cruelty' (to borrow the phrase of Sofsky, translated and cited by Kirstein), and thereby to experience the violence on the time scale shared by the sufferer. Other images again arguably disrupt the viewer's complicity with the perpetrator of violence by disturbing his reading of the situation: thus for example the presence of male genitalia on the ostensibly feminine form of the Hermaphrodite, revealed to the viewer only by certain vantage points, serves to complicate the sexual politics of the image.

These more complex acts of display raise significant questions about the function of violence, and about the function of representations of violence, in Hellenistic society. Do those displays of violence that shine a spotlight on the suffering of the victim undercut the social privileging of violence, and serve to problematise the use of violence as a tool of social hierarchy? Or do such displays in fact ultimately entrench the capacity for violence, by normalising the viewing of suffering? To what extent is the representation of violence itself a means of distancing the spectator from the brutal reality of violence, and does such distancing encourage indifference or allow the viewer the required space to reflect on violence and choose how to respond to it? Were there different audiences among whom the emotional responses to these violent stimuli diverged, or again, different responses within a group dependent on other contextual circumstances? The chapters in this volume suggest initial answers, but further grappling with such questions is perhaps an area for future research.

Randall Collins has written from a modern sociological perspective on this connection between violence and emotion, and divergent emotional responses in situations of violence. He emphasises the apparent difficulty of getting violence (of the physical type easily attributed to individuals) off the ground.[13] Our emphasis has been on how violence is represented and perceived, rather than more narrowly on how it is caused, but the two phenomena go together, since emotional regimes or conventions in part function to define some actions as violent and rule out others from the sphere of violence. Collins argues that even the most violent people are actually non-violent most of the time, and that situations that result in violence are rare.[14] He claims that for human interactions to escalate to violence, there must be 'a set of pathways around confrontation and fear'; violence breaks out only after the emotions of 'tension and fear' are configured in 'an interactional process involving everyone present: the antagonists, audience,

and even ostensibly disengaged bystanders' – again pointing to the importance of identifying different audiences of violent displays.[15]

Collins argues that:

> Violent situations are shaped by an emotional field of tension and fear. Any successful violence must overcome this tension and fear. One way this is done is by turning the emotional tension into emotional energy.[16]

Emotional energy is ordinarily generated by 'emotional entrainment' in healthy social interactions, as participants in the situation draw on, and mutually strengthen, each other's emotions to achieve shared goals; affectivity is heightened as actors become caught up in each other's emotions.[17] In the violent situation, tension stops this mutually beneficial emotional involvement, and antagonists have to disregard the emotions of their victims while simultaneously building emotional energy. Fear and tension, in Collins' scheme, make emotional entrainment difficult, and hence make violence difficult because violence requires significant emotional energy. This leads Collins to suggest that it is the immediate situation which leads to violence, not earlier histories of interaction in the lead-up to violence.[18] Collins's argument, and its magisterially documented and wide-ranging case-studies, are a helpful counterpoint to the cultural and discursive analysis of violence which has dominated this collection.[19] But one may ask whether his emphasis on strictly time-limited situations, necessitated by his favoured method of empirical observation of violent situations over short time frames, leads to explanatory gaps.[20]

Particularly, strategies and symbol systems that heighten affectivity over time and in diverse areas of cultural life, may mean that the emotional energy required for violence to come about is more easily generated in some cultures than in others, partly through the legitimation and valorisation of particular emotions with violent potential. There is a *prima facie* case that Hellenistic Greece could have been one such culture; our conclusion that Hellenistic violence was inextricably connected to emotional regimes of the period calls for further investigation of the characteristics of those emotional regimes at the widest societal level as well as within the diverse local cultures of Hellenistic cities.[21] To this end, David Konstan's investigations of combat trauma in Ancient Greece – albeit not focused on the Hellenistic period – are pertinent. He wonders whether, since

> there was a premium on channelling animosity into militarism rather than disarming it entirely, the dividing line between irritability and pathology may have been blurrier than it is today.[22]

In such an emotional regime, what we might regard as violent aggression, and the violent trauma that comes from it, can be figured instead as martial heroism or masculine power, although, as Konstan discusses, Greeks could represent violent slaughter as engendering frenzy and madness, for example when Heracles' father, Amphitryon, asks him: 'My son, what is happening to you . . .? Is the slaughter of the corpses whom you just now killed making you frenzied?' (Eur. *Heracl.* 965–7).[23]

In a similar way, much has been written, for example, on anger (*orgē*) and citizenship in (largely Classical) sources.[24] Konstan, in another essay, emphasises the positive aspects of the jurors' anger in Aristophanes' *Wasps*. Their anger figures patriotic fearlessness essential for the preservation of the polis against external attack (Ar. *Vesp.* ll. 1082–90, 1104–5).[25] In a social and political world where status was a valuable commodity, anger could be coded as a virtuous civic emotion rather than merely violently destructive: anger properly guards 'personal independence, greatness and equality'.[26] In Chankowski's contribution to this volume, expansionist actions and military prowess (actions grounded in anger) are perceived not as destructive violence but as civic pride, acting for the good of the polis, and expressing virtuous masculinity. Yet the anger of the jurors in the *Wasps* also legitimises a certain sort of 'harsh justice' (elsewhere figured as violent) and limits the space available for the dispensation of 'gentle equity' (*epieikēs*) (Hdt. 3.53; Soph. fr. 770 [Pearson]; Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1137b34–1138a3).[27] Gentle equity involves *suggnōmē*, 'understanding along with', which in turn requires the emotional disposition of pity (Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1143a19–35; *Rhet.* 1374b2–10). Yet in the *Wasps*, the pity necessary for gentle equity is driven out by the valorisation of civic anger: the emotional regime of civic anger codes a harsh form of justice as righteously preserving the polis rather than as excessively violent. Now this emotional regime is not (as its dramatisation in the *Wasps* suggests), culturally uncontested. Martha Nussbaum has recently drawn attention to the transformation of the Furies in Aeschylus' *Eumenides* from their initially unconstrained and violent anger to a more 'gentle temper' (Aesch. *Eum.* 922), which, if still fearful, is depicted as more fitting for justice, since it allows room for the possibility of persuasion (Aesch. *Eum.* 885, 970).[28] This emotional contest between civic anger and civic pity again points to the role of the construction of emotional norms in accentuating and controlling violence. Lape charts this interaction between anger and pity working in the other direction, as cultural scripts of pity or compassion moderate, temper, and transform violent actions within families. In thus prioritising empathetic concern, otherwise legitimate actions are perceived and marginalised as inappropriately violent. In these examples, it is clear that determining how Hellenistic Greek society perceived violence, defined it in or out of existence, and coded it as legitimate or immoral, is related to attendant emotional conventions.

The relationship between violence and emotion is also directly connected to the temporality of violence. Our embodied experience of time makes it a deeply personal and interpersonal phenomenon, varying with emotional state, arousal, attention, memory, decision-making processes, imitation of other people's rhythms and experiences of time, socialisation, and a myriad of cultural and situational factors; much literature has pointed to the relationship between traumatic, violent experience, emotional response, and the experience of time.[29] Our discussions of violence have repeatedly identified a link between violence and the perception of time, and we hope they may serve as a stimulus for further reflection on the temporalities of the Hellenistic world, and the way they are modulated, constructed and fractured by the violence of the period.

Essays in this volume have drawn attention to aspects of violence shaping time and associated identities, precisely by shaping memory, emotion, and ritual. Throughout Greek history, violence had affected civic time and civic identity by defining what was worthy of memorialisation. Sanctuaries had long brimmed with tokens dedicated by individuals and by cities. Such votives broadcast military prestige to an audience for whom success on the field of war defined an entire community and determined its place in the wider world. The Hellenistic world retained for violence this structuring capacity, some of it manifested through mechanisms and in sites familiar from the Classical age (charted, for example, in the chapters by Chankowski and Dickenson). It saw its reach extend to define both the new Hellenistic monarchs and their newly emerging kingdoms. The temporal regimentation of the lives of people from different sections of society was one way in which violence could circumscribe the agency and identity of citizens and cities. Violence shaping personal identity by affecting time was perhaps clearest in Kirstein's analysis of the poetic representation of subjective time in Catullus' *Carmen 11*. He highlighted ways in which time could be distended by violent sexuality, imperial expansion, and associated emotions, while simultaneously constituting the identity of the poetic persona. In Chaniotis' chapter, the time of the night opened up possibilities for violence (including violence enacted by weaker members of society) and also augmented the emotional potential of violent acts, thus magnifying the perception of violence, and motivating a range of civic and legal forms to control it. We may also consider the temporality of emotions of war: the suspension or intensification of time in an *aristeia*, the drawn-out anxiety of a city under siege, the long periods of inactivity punctuated with intense activity of mercenaries. O'Sullivan's account of the way religious ritual was altered by the attempts of poleis and kings to negotiate their power relations calls for further study of the way such deployment and adaptation of ritual affected civic temporality and altered or reinforced civic identity. We noted in Chapter 1 an instance where a violent royal will caused the Athenians to change their calendar,[30] but that is only one of the more dramatic ways in which civic time, and associated civic identities, could be put under pressure in the period. The intrusion of the Antigonids into the civic and religious life of Athens inflicted a number of disruptions upon that polis' reckoning of time. The addition of two new tribes named for Antigonus Monophthalmus and Demetrius Poliorcetes in 307/6 BCE (Diod. Sic. 20.45.2; Plut. *Demetr*. 10.4) resulted in the reduction of the duration of tribal prytanies to accommodate the new tribes, while Athens' reconciliation with Poliorcetes in 296/95 BCE was marked by a complete restarting of the civic calendar.[31] In each of these cases – memorialisation, personal experience, and ritual practice – violence shaped the identity of cities, citizens, and kings by affecting how they experienced time. Longer scale studies of Hellenistic temporality could also help to show how people sought to construct continuities with earlier cultural and political identities in the context of the wide-ranging social, economic, political and cultural changes of the Hellenistic world.

Several contributions have argued that violence could also affect identity construction by putting pressure on boundaries between the public and the

private or personal. We have seen an increasing potential for public violence to be refracted through private violence and *vice versa*. Kirstein's contribution in this volume explores one such instance of this diffusion in Catullus *Carmen* 11; violence in its most expansionist form — Roman military imperialism that reaches out to the very boundaries of the known world — is collapsed inwards into a vignette of the most intimate, personal violence, a violence which disrupts the very norms of gender and interpersonal relationship.

Such blurring of the distinctions between, and interplay of, polis and personal violences may arguably be situated within a broader, and well-recognised Hellenistic trend of the encroachment of personal discourses into the discourses of the polis. Witness, for example, the spread into public utterances of language — notably, language of emotion — that had once largely been confined to familial relationships. Affection (*philostorgia*) takes its place alongside the old civic modes of benefaction (*euergesia*) and good will (*eunoia*), and is enlisted in its new civic context to describe a broad range of relationships between a king and his *philoi*, or the king and the polis, or between two poleis.[32] It might be suggested on this basis that the proliferation of concern for, and interest in, the individual that is often noted in analyses of Hellenistic culture may signify not solely a retreat from the public world into the private (from a world in which the old social and political structures of the polis were being challenged by the new mega-structures of kings and kingdoms), but rather at times an attempt to employ the discourses of private experience and personal, emotional subjectivity to engage actively with that larger public world itself.

In this context, histories of Hellenistic violence should be alert to the interplay of public and private in violent situations. One common effect of violence is to break down the categories of public and private, as the aggressor seeks to impose his will on the victim. This is clearest in overtly political violence, as kings invade and seek to colonise, or simply destroy, the individual hopes, intentions, plans, feelings, space, and time of cities and citizens. But as we have suggested, such violence also enters love poetry and civic strategies of memorialisation which shape individual identity. It may be seen in the sphere of art charted by Hardiman, as objects once only seen in private become more prominent in public, again potentially symbolising the erasure of distinctively private space free from public domination. An analogous move may be seen in the case of religion, as ritual, never divorced from citizen politics and identity, becomes more strongly contested as a means of making civic power claims on the part of kings or poleis. Several chapters in this volume, then, suggest that a key cultural phenomenon of violence in the period is the collapse of the categories of public and personal, or at least a dangerous interplay between them. Investigating this dynamic in more detail may provide ways to connect apparently different situations and cultural semiotics of violence in the Hellenistic age.

Such a project promises to chart significant cultural patterns; yet connecting up the diverse cultural representations of violence may, paradoxically, hide as it reveals. We wrote in Chapter 1 of the danger of representations of violence. We argued that accounts of violence can reproduce the violence they purport to describe both by omitting many victims from the story, and also – significantly – precisely

to the extent that they make sense of pain which is painful partly because it renders meaning void. When music is made of noise – the 'buzz of squalor' – there is a danger that brutality is sanitised, that violence is made polite rather than remaining decisively shattering. Without minimising that face of violence, the chapters in this volume have insisted that much violence and its representation are deeply rational: thought through and intentional from the different (if sometimes overlapping) perspectives of aggressor, victim and observer. They have pointed to the cultural work done by such violence and the narrations, performances, and displays of it. They have traced how violence shapes interpersonal, civic, and polis–kingdom relationships, generates emotional scripts and communities, constructs civic structures, laws, economic practices, and institutions, and forms public and private temporality and space. The emotional representation of violence, so persistent and prominent across genres and historical situations, confirms this constructive, willed, felt, cognitive, interpersonal, and cultural element of discourses of violence, since emotions are themselves culturally configured and historically contingent. Several chapters explored the ways emotions could be harnessed and generated to bind communities together against the threat of violence, and to lend support to laws and institutions that sought to control it or violently to suppress elements within society. It is thus clear both that violence can be used to create and sustain civilised society, and that its destructive reality does not always have the final word, that victims can and do make sense from shattering experiences.

Histories of violence should feel obliged to expose ways in which elites use violence to establish and maintain their dominance, and to acknowledge the effort, risk and pain involved in the original re-creation of meaning by their victims. But the ability of violence to break bodies, symbols, the capacity for feeling, and interpersonal and cultural relationships, structures, and institutions places historians of violence in treacherous territory. Historians aim, in part, to remember (as violence breaks bodies), recognise (as violence destroys minds and symbol systems), and represent (as violence deeply unsettles time itself).[33] These problems, common to all historians, are accentuated by violence. The accentuation makes it more pressing than ever to seek out traces of conceptual and emotional incoherence in the attempts of historical agents to make sense of the experience of violence. Throughout this Epilogue, we have emphasised the common, diverse, and contested emotional representation of violence – embedded in narratives, performances, poetry, art, ideas, and public display. In dealing with such emotional representations, the historian's challenge is to glimpse the wordless writhing of past suffering and tend words that feel, words that retain traces of lamentation, dread, and the shambles.

Notes

1 Our volume thus provides still further evidence to question the methodological basis for Pinker's (2011) claims about a modern reduction in violence. Matthews and Goodman (2013: 4–5) make a similar point. Studies of the historical particularity of violence, its cultural construction, and systemic nature should augment (suitably grounded) empirical and statistical analyses based on narrow definitions of observable violence.

2 Žižek (2008: 1–2 and *passim*). Žižek shares with theorists like Judith Butler and Michel Foucault a concern to unmask how discourses can legitimise established social structures and consequently enable some forms of violence to be perpetrated freely as morally unproblematic or virtuous while casting others as perverse or inhumane. See for example Butler (2004; 2009); Foucault (1995) [original translation 1977].
3 It is in this sense that Collins (2007: 25) is right to say that 'Symbolic violence is easy; real violence is hard': it is much harder to act and think against the symbolic and systemic than to reproduce them. See also p. 214 above.
4 For emotions in Ancient Greece, see Konstan (2006).
5 On emotion scripts, see Kaster (2005); on emotional regimes, see Reddy (2001).
6 Chaniotis (2013: 350).
7 For 'emotional community', see Rosenwein (2006).
8 Chaniotis (1997) remains fundamental. For indications of the importance of display, see (among many others) Diod. Sic. 20.99.2–3 (on Demetrius Poliorcetes); *SEG* 35.744 for the concern for making religious rites 'worthy of seeing'.
9 Emotional response is in fact at the heart of tragedy, as Aristotle famously opines in the *Poetics*.
10 The full evocation of the violence that Cytenium had suffered is contained in a diplomatic letter, the text of which is also published by the Xanthians at *SEG* 38.1476.88–99.
11 Diod. Sic. 20.83.2; Plut. *Demetr*. 34.3.
12 For the Laocoon statue, see http://mv.vatican.va/3_EN/pages/x-Schede/MPCs/MPCs_Sala02_03.html [accessed 31 July 2016].
13 Collins (2007).
14 Collins (2007: 2–3).
15 Collins (2007: 8).
16 Collins (2007: 19).
17 Collins (2007: 19–20).
18 Collins (2007: 20).
19 See, however, n. 1 above: like Pinker, Collins' emphasis on empirically observable violence begs the question about symbolic, discursive and systemic violence. Further, arguing that cultural theories of violence (e.g. Collins 2007: 23–4) fail because physically violent acts do not follow in a straightforwardly causative sense from violent cultures is misguided; a theory can explain without predicting all individual cases, and cultural theories of violence need not be crudely deterministic.
20 As Collins acknowledges (2007: 34). We must hope for his second volume, which promises to focus on 'larger social structures than the immediate situation, such as militaries and politics' (ibid.). Collins thinks these larger scale processes are essential to a complete explanation: our larger frame is potentially congruent with his analysis. The police shooting of a black behavioural therapist as he had his hands in the air, was following police instructions, and attempting to assist an autism patient (see Miller 2016) is a case in point. The incident followed two other recent police shootings of black Americans, and shootings of police in other US cities over the preceding weeks. Arguably, then, the 'violent situation' extended over a much longer period than the few seconds of the interaction, and should also be contextualised against a revival of racial tensions in different parts of American life and cultural discourse, and the stridently violent political rhetoric of the national political debate. The symbolic violence of discourses that entrench and perform racism in modern society should also be part of the explanation, despite Collins's attack on talk of 'symbolic violence' as 'vacuous' (p. 24).
21 Older narratives of the Hellenistic age as one of fear and uncertainty need not be recapitulated in such a research programme, although these emotions may find a more clearly defined place in histories of violence.
22 Konstan 2014, 13. For a particular case study see Crowley (2014), who contests the (now dominant) reading of Herodotus' story about Epizelus at Marathon in 490 BCE (Hdt. 6.117) as an episode indicative of battle trauma.

23 Konstan (2014: 5–7). See also the contrasting analyses of Meagher (2006: 48, 50) and Riley (2008: 34–7) which Konstan discusses.
24 See e.g. Allen (1999); Konstan (1995: 19); Konstan (2006: 75–6).
25 Konstan (1995: 19).
26 Allen (2000: 129), cited in Konstan (2006: 76).
27 On 'harsh justice' *versus* 'gentle equity' and associated ancient literature, see Nussbaum (1993).
28 Nussbaum (2016: 1–4).
29 Droit-Volet and Gil (2009) for a survey of literature on time and emotion in modern psychology, which also acknowledges the wider cultural factors that influence experience of time.
30 See above, p. 9.
31 See further Thonemann (2005: 71–3, 80–82).
32 Chaniotis (2013: 339), citing *IG* xi 4 1114 (affection of Seleucus' *philos*, Heliodorus, towards the king), and *IG* ii^2 937 (affection of a Seleucid official towards Athens).
33 For a discussion of related problems for historians in the context of trauma studies, see Stevens (2016: 33–5).

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